

# The AMERICAN TEACHER

MARCH -

APRIL

1938

## PRESIDENT'S COMMITTEE RECOMMENDS:

*By Charles H. Thompson*

TEACHERS IN HAGUE TERRITORY - - *By One of Them*

### RADIO EDUCATION

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*A Tax Symposium*

OFFICIAL ORGAN of the AMERICAN FEDERATION of TEACHERS

## On A Dangerous War Measure

Congressman Maury Maverick  
House Office Building  
Washington, D. C.

Dear Congressman Maverick:

On behalf of thirty thousand American teachers and professors from every state in the Union I wish to protest vigorously against the new "War Profits" industrial mobilization bill. This, it seems to us, is not only highly dangerous in its provisions but is misleading and hypocritical.

It purports to take the profits out of war while it actually does nothing of the kind. It does go far towards setting up a dictatorship in the United States. It gives the President power to control prices, to draft men between the ages of twenty-one and thirty-one for military service overseas, to control the organs of public opinion, including the radio and the press. It also attempts to control wages and unions and the prices which the farmers can secure for their products. Any one who disobeys a rule or regulation promulgated by those who are administering the act can be fined \$100,000 or imprisoned for one year or both.

In short, it is probably not too strong to say that this bill virtually sets up an American brand of Fascism. The Japanese Diet is struggling hard to defeat a similar measure in Japan. We had not supposed that any of our organized parties really believed in the dictatorial program of the Japanese military clique.

We do not believe that patriotic, peace loving, democratic Americans will be fooled by the specious patriotic slogans which the measure contains. Certainly the teachers are not deceived. They wish to register through you their strongest opposition to the passage of any such measure.

We feel sure that when Congress really stops to consider the genuine meaning of this bill it will be decisively defeated. We believe that Congress should now devote its attention to constructive methods of building a happy, prosperous and intelligent nation in peace time. After defeating this proposed measure we hope that Congress may give careful consideration to an adequate program of Federal aid to our schools. By raising the intellectual level of all the people we would have far greater guarantees against foreign military aggression than we could ever have from the proposed military dictatorship bill. The defeat of the May Bill will help us retain our heritage of liberty, equality and democracy.

Jerome Davis

•  
CONGRESS OF THE UNITED STATES  
House of Representatives  
Washington, D. C.

Hon. Jerome Davis, Pres.  
American Federation of Teachers  
489 Ocean Avenue  
West Haven, Conn.

Dear Mr. Davis:

Thank you for your letter of March 3rd concerning the May Bill. Your views and comments are parallel with mine which I have incorporated in the enclosed Minority Report. I believe that this bill is vicious and misleading in intent as well as in nature, and that all the American people ought to join together to urge its defeat.

With best wishes, I am,

Very truly yours,  
Maury Maverick, M. C.



## Federal Aid Moves Forward

The public school system in the United States greatly needs improvement. Glaring inequalities characterize educational opportunities and expenditures for schools throughout the nation. The level of educational service that can be maintained under present circumstances in many localities is below the minimum necessary for the preservation of democratic institutions. Federal aid is the only way in which the difficulties in this widespread and complex situation can be adequately corrected.

Thus begins the official summary of the general conclusions of the President's Advisory Committee on Education. These are stirring and heartening ideas, immensely encouraging to those who have long felt that Federal aid is indispensable if the severe crisis in education is to be relieved, and if the unjustifiable inequities are even to be partially corrected.

There are many enemies of Federal aid to education. Some are deluded, some hypocritical, some misinformed. At the moment of writing, they have not yet become articulate, but the brass bands of the parade of opposition, honest and otherwise, will soon be blaring. It is of prime importance that every AFT member memorize certain minimum facts about Federal aid, and utilize the present situation for spreading knowledge about the proposal. The excellent analysis by Charles H. Thompson appearing in this issue gives all the important data. The administration in Washington is distinctly favorable to the whole idea.

It is particularly gratifying that the committee's proposals on Federal aid parallel in so many respects the provisions of the O'Day-Scott Bill, introduced at the instance of the AFT.

The Committee recommended not merely Federal aid, but educational equalization. By adequate safeguards it would be made certain that Negro education and rural education receive sufficient assistance to bring them closer to equality with white and urban schools. The Committee recommends state control of planning and supervision of instruction, thus overcoming that old bogey of Federal interference with state rights.

The general problem of the education of youth received

the attention of the Committee. In this connection, it recommended that the CCC and the NYA be combined, and that the new agency take over control of the CCC camps because long-continued use of the army to administer a civilian educational enterprise was not in the American tradition.

One aspect of the Federal aid proposal has already aroused much discussion. It is the recommendation whereby the states would be permitted to allocate limited funds to non-public schools, to be used for transportation of students, textbooks, scholarships for pupils 16 to 19 years old, and for health and welfare services. Such a recommendation is questionable, since it violates the principle of separation of church and state. In evaluating this proposal, however, the following points must be remembered: 1. the expenditure of such funds is permissive, not obligatory; 2. 43 of the 48 states have laws or constitutional clauses (or both) whereby such distribution of funds to non-public schools is impossible. Under the circumstances, it would seem wiser to get the Federal aid law on the books now, and to fight against distribution of funds to non-public school groups in the few states where such a possibility arises. To center attention exclusively on this feature of the bill would endanger the possibility of any Federal aid at the present time.

Warm congratulations are due to Professor Floyd W. Reeves, Chairman, and to the other members of the Committee for a thoroughgoing, realistic, and progressive report. The next job is to whip their recommendations into proper form for introduction into Congress. This is now being done by combined NEA and AFT agencies.

Congratulations are also in order for the hardworking AFT National Legislative Committee and National Legislative Representatives. However, their job is still largely ahead of them, in spite of much spadework accomplished. Each union member has an urgent task to perform in this connection. Write to your Senator and your Congressmen. Tell them what you think of Federal aid to education.



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## Growth of the AFT

The January per capita report presents an encouraging picture. The total paid up membership in January, 1938, represents a 58 per cent gain over the same month in 1937, is more than twice the membership of the same month in 1936, and is more than three times the membership reported for December, 1934. By way of comparison, it is interesting to note that at the time of the A.F.L. convention at Denver only three unions out of approximately one hundred showed a greater gain in convention votes since 1929 than the American Federation of Teachers. . . . It is a significant fact in education in America that thousands of teachers are awakening to

the need for organization and united action. In the cities of New York, Chicago, and Cleveland more than 15,000 teachers have joined the ranks of the American Federation of Teachers. In such representative American cities as Atlanta, Ga.; Springfield, Ohio; Bloomington, Illinois; Parkersburg, West Virginia; and Butte, Montana, from 80 per cent to 100 per cent of the teachers are AFT members. Locals from coast to coast are experiencing splendid growth in membership. . . . Teachers are rapidly becoming cognizant of the fact that superintendents alone are helpless in withstanding the pressure of organized groups which are actively attempting to curtail school programs. It has become obvious that teachers themselves must unite to protect educational standards and to solve their own economic problems. . . . The present rapid growth of the American Federation of Teachers indicates that teachers of America are taking a serious interest in the task of building a citizenry for a democracy in the richest nation in the world.

## Big Business Finds Its Voice

In their articles on "Big Business Finds its Voice" in Harper's for January and February, S. H. Walker and Paul Sklar point out that while big business was demoralized by the depression and since 1929 has been scorned by the public and attacked by the politicians, big business has not capitulated. Instead, it is determined to sell itself as successfully as it sells its products. In selling itself, big business stresses that the prosperity of all of us is dependent on the prosperity of business, that America has the highest standard of living in the world, and that capitalism has made such a high standard possible. . . . Every avenue of propaganda—advertising, radio, speakers, and movies—is used to sell the virtues of business. Backed by General Motors, the du Ponts, Ford, and U. S. Steel, the message of business is entering every home and every school. Particularly successful has been the penetration into the public schools of business propaganda in the guise of scientific films. Teachers, seldom critical, and anxious to take advantage of these films, rarely question their point of view. Few teachers realize that the philosophy and the program of big business are influencing their thinking and the thinking of their students. Under numerous slogans to the effect that what is good for business is good for the people, the propaganda of big business has as its aim to discourage the growing conception that government is a legitimate agency for remedying the maldistribution of wealth through use of the taxing power to pay for social legislation, such

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as the Social Security Act, the WPA, Federal aid to education. It seeks to build up opposition to such government checks on the excesses of industry as the Wagner Labor Relations Act and the La Follette investigation. By accomplishing these aims, big business hopes once more to dictate the pattern of American life. Teachers should refuse to permit the classroom to be used for such purposes, purposes which would soon deprive the children of the best fruit of education—a free and inquiring mind.

#### **Pennsylvania: Current Battleground for Real Tenure**

Teachers everywhere are watching Pennsylvania with intense interest. It is the current battleground for real tenure. . . . Pennsylvania adopted an excellent tenure law one year ago. That tenure law is now being attacked on several fronts with an intensity that is making teachers realize unerringly that getting the law on the books was but the first phase of real tenure. It is just as important to get a fair interpretation of the law from school boards and from the courts. And it will be just as difficult to keep hostile legislators at the next session from amending the law into virtual nothingness. . . . Two high hurdles have thus far been negotiated successfully. Several school boards brought the tenure law into the courts, but it has been finally ruled by the Supreme Court of Pennsylvania that the law is constitutional. When that decision was announced, Pennsylvania teachers drew a deep breath. . . . In Philadelphia, the school board attempted to circumvent the plain intent of the law by issuing tenure contracts calling for possible 12-month service without additional compensation. The Supreme Court spoke against such a practice, and as a result Philadelphia contracts are being reissued on a 10-month basis. Philadelphia teachers drew a second breath.

#### **The Future of Pennsylvania Tenure**

Pennsylvania teachers are making no mistake, however. School boards are making ready to press the legislature into changing the three provisions which are regarded by teachers as their most important safeguards. The first is the provision whereby an adverse decision of the school board may be appealed to the courts. Several school boards are objecting to this. Have they no faith in the courts, that they wish to deny teachers recourse to them? . . . Several school boards also want to alter the provision whereby teachers may not be discharged merely because of their marital status. Should that objective be achieved, certain communities would at once discharge every married woman teacher. Do these school boards think that marriage is a privilege to be denied to teachers? Can they indeed think in modern America that the place of the woman is in the home? . . . Lastly, certain school boards want to insert into the law a provision for a "probationary period", during which they could discharge a

teacher without having to establish cause. Are these school boards forgetting that *under the present law* they can discharge a teacher if they can prove incompetence, regardless of how long that teacher has served? Or do these school boards want a "probationary period" so that they can do as is done in New Jersey? In that state, with a three-year probationary period, wholesale dismissals take place several days before the three-year period expires. Several days later, the same teachers are rehired. The teacher never secures tenure, and never secures his salary increments. . . . Victory in Pennsylvania will show teachers elsewhere that they can put an end to such abuses.

#### **Essentialism: A New Justification for Retrenchment**

A group of educators terming themselves "Essentialists" recently launched an attack upon progressive education, charging the latter with the failure of American schools to measure up to European contemporaries. They criticised the "activity" program, and inferentially held progressive education responsible for much of our crime. The political bias of the "Essentialists" is indicated by their reference to a phase of progressive education as being "a pernicious movement to indoctrinate immature learners in the interests of a specific social order." . . . The statements of this group are full of generalities. One answer was given by John Dewey, who said that the "traditional school never succeeded in giving more than a small number of pupils either discipline or any command of organized subject matter" and that the failure of American schools is "a criticism of the traditional methods which are still largely in use." Essentialism means, in essence, a return to formalism and the 3 R's. This program comes to the fore at a time of recession and retrenchment. It serves as a philosophical and pedagogical justification for limiting school equipment, cutting down the number of teachers, and eventually slashing salaries.

#### **Two New AFT Projects**

The Editors wish to call your attention briefly to two new tasks undertaken by agencies of the AFT. In the legislative field, teachers will welcome the Model Bill Bureau, a subcommittee of the National Legislative Committee of the AFT. Its work is described on another page by its chairman, Dr. Ross Thalheimer. . . . In the field of educational policy, the National Educational Policies Committee has been set up by the National Executive Council. Miss Wanda Taeschner is chairman. Its first deliberations and actions are described on another page. . . . In these two fields much of the work of the AFT for the next few years will be concentrated. In this connection it is a pleasure to be able to report that Professor Floyd W. Reeves, chairman of the President's Advisory Committee on Education, has become a member of the National Educational Policies Committee of the AFT.

### Help is Needed

The teachers at Monongalia County, West Virginia, and at Flint, Michigan, need the moral support that teachers from all over the United States can give them. Since the dismissal last June of two Monongalia teachers, Messrs. Donald Chesrown and Owen Hamilton, because of their labor views and activities, a concentrated attack has been made upon teacher organization. Furthermore, at a Parent-Teachers Association meeting late in January, Dr. Charles Ambler, chairman of the Board of Education, tried to conceal the true amount of taxes derived from the state by the School Board and, after sharp questioning, was forced to admit that the School Board had illegally borrowed \$87,000. In Flint, Michigan, where three active teachers were dismissed last January, salaries have been traveling downward, the school term has

been progressively cut, and liberal and pro-labor library books have been quietly withdrawn from the shelves. If the school systems of these two areas are not to suffer further attack, and some sense of security and freedom is to return to the teaching forces, the voices of teacher and labor organizations from every corner of the United States must be heard in these communities to stop the financial forces in their destructive work. Resolutions asking the reinstatement of the ousted teachers and protesting against the weakening of the school systems should be sent to the following:

Dr. Charles Ambler, President, Monongalia Board of Education, Morgantown, West Virginia;

Ralph M. Freeman, Secretary, Flint Board of Education, 1103 Union Industrial Bank Building, Flint, Michigan.

## A Service to Academic Freedom

In exonerating William A. Schaper, professor at the University of Minnesota, who was discharged from that institution in 1917 for alleged disloyalty to the United States government, the regents of that institution on Jan. 29 last performed a service to the causes of academic freedom, of justice, and in a larger sense to the cause of peace.

Furthermore, in sending him a check for \$5000, in giving him his title of professor emeritus at Minnesota, and in expunging the 1917 incident from their records, the regents, in so far as is possible now, have made amends and removed a serious stain from their own escutcheon. Their integrity was at stake, not Professor Schaper's.

For Professor Schaper is now established as entirely within his rights as a citizen in opposing the entry of the United States into the war. After war was declared, however, he is shown to have complied with the law and supported the action of the government.

The fact is that as head of the department of political science he functioned as an authority in various fields which brought him into sharp disagreement with interests whose purposes were not always in accord with the public weal. It is these reactionary forces which are charged with his "star chamber" trial and summary dismissal.

It was at the request of Elmer Benson, farmer-labor governor of Minnesota, that the board reconsidered its former action, taking the step at the governor's plea for "academic freedom".

Acting for the executive council of the AFT, Mr. Irvin R. Kuenzli, secretary-treasurer, sent the following wire to Governor Benson and the board of regents from Chicago:

The Executive Council of the American Federation of Teachers, meeting in Chicago December 30, 1937, voted to urge that Professor William Schaper be given an opportunity to return to

his position at the University of Minnesota from which he was dismissed during the heat and fever of the World War days. The American Federation of Teachers believes that academic freedom is absolutely essential in protecting the nation from war and that the return of Professor Schaper to his former position will be an indication that the state of Minnesota desires peace rather than war. Your assistance in righting what we believe to be a serious wrong will be greatly appreciated by the union teachers of Minnesota and of the nation.

This action was followed by similar pleas from various organizations throughout the country, among them the University of Wisconsin Teachers Union, Local 233, the Minnesota Federation of College Teachers, Local 444, and the Minneapolis Federation of Women Teachers, Local 59, and, when Professor Schaper was finally exonerated, by expressions of gratification from all over the United States.

Anticipating favorable action on the case, Charles A. Beard, in "Mine Eyes May Behold," in the New Republic of Jan. 19 said:

Professor Schaper was not a traitor to his country. He was not guilty of sedition. He gave no aid or comfort to the enemy. Before the United States entered the war, he exercised his rights. After that event, he discharged his duties. But personal enemies took advantage of the occasion to penalize him. The offense of the university lay in its failure to grant a fair hearing to Professor Schaper, to follow the proceedings of deliberation, to act upon evidence as distinguished from allegations. That similar offenses were committed by other institutions of learning was no excuse of this lapse from the plain mandates of correct procedure in such instances. By acknowledging its fault the university will pass no judgment upon the merits of the World War. It will do justice to a man. It will do more. It will erect a monument to freedom of inquiry.

Professor Schaper expects to remain at the University of Oklahoma where he was received after a long enforced vacation from the exercise of his profession; he is quoted as being "grateful" for the board's step.



# Teachers in Hague Territory

● By ONE OF THEM

**W**HEN ONE SPEAKS of Jersey City, it must be remembered that he has reference to the individual city and also to the county seat of Hudson, heart of the Hague-controlled political machine.

Many are the gifts that Hague has showered on Hudson. Corrupt courts, padded payrolls, bankrupt municipalities and "Simon Legree" poormasters, driving relief clients to murder, are but minor gratuities forced on its citizens at a wave of "Frankie's" magic wand. Making two votes count where only one was cast must be a manifestation of the supernatural.

The criterion of this benevolence, of course, is found in Jersey City. By the modest reports of Hague, himself, of all the municipalities in the United States, Jersey City has the finest police department (at twice the cost, approximately \$9.00 per capita), the finest fire department (for arriving late at fires and collecting "Kiddies Christmas Funds" for the benefit of the most mature appearing kiddies anyone ever saw), and the finest medical center (smack up against the finest garbage dumps), and the finest water system (only slightly more costly than beer would be). What, then, is the loss of such unimportant things as Freedom of Speech, Freedom of the Press, Right to Peaceful Assemblage and other civil liberties.

Being part of this wonderful machine (and of course well aware of who its directing genius is) it is astounding that the teachers of Hudson County and particularly of Jersey City could be so ungrateful as to rebel against illegal pay-cuts. It is quite evident that the teachers do not understand Hague's honorable intentions toward them as reported from his speech to the New Jersey Schoolmasters' Club at Newark on January 16. In the speech he said,

I know why radicalism is creeping into the educational system. The compensation is inadequate. I put you as professionals above engineers, lawyers, or any other such group. You have my personal word, should I ever have the power, to make you the highest paid people in the nation.

Alas, he had so little power in Jersey City that the teachers were subjected to a pay-cut scaled from 25 per cent to 35 per cent. He could not prevent boards of education in Hudson County from evading the New Jersey Tenure Law by designating teachers as "permanent substitutes" and "teachers in training", paying them as little as \$4.00 per day for as long as seven and eight years.

Jersey City was and still is a notorious offender in this respect.

When teachers under the sponsorship of the Hudson County Teachers Union, New Jersey State Federation of Teachers and the Progressive Teachers League, formed the "Anti-Waiver Committee" to acquaint teachers with their legal rights concerning salaries and so-called voluntary waivers and notified teachers that a room would be available in the Jersey City YWCA building, the Hague-controlled machine swung into action. George O'Brien, President of the Jersey City Teachers' Association, and Dr. Thompson, Associate Superintendent of schools, made charges that invited speakers were "reds" and the Anti-Waiver Committee was an "undesirable group". Acting on their advice the YWCA repudiated its agreement to rent a room for their meeting. After being transferred to the Fairmount Hall, the only meeting place available to so-called undesirable groups in Jersey City, the meeting was further attacked by notices appearing on the bulletin boards in most of the schools bearing in a good many cases the principal's signatures, of which the following is an example:

12/20

To Teachers:

Word has been received that there will be no "Teachers" Mass Meeting tonight.

J. M. Kerwin

In spite of these attacks over one hundred teachers gathered in Fairmount Hall to hear Herbert C. Cole, President of the New Jersey State Federation of Teachers, Clarence Smith, Chairman of the Anti-Waiver Committee, and Edward Carroll, candidate of Progressive Teachers' League, explain teachers' legal salary rights. A handful of administration stooges reluctantly attacked these rights but could not prevent the passage of a resolution opposed to the signing of waivers. Headlines in the local papers next day were as follows: "YWCA Bars Protest Meeting of Teachers", "YWCA Closed to Teachers Unit—Communist Hint Cancels Permission."

This meeting started a wave of opposition to waivers throughout the country that resulted in restoration or partial restoration in many of the municipalities. Jersey City held up waivers and the Jersey City Teachers Association scheduled a meeting to discuss signing of waivers. The Anti-Waiver Committee held its second meeting. On the same night Mayor Hague held his Anti-Communist



Rally and the Superintendent of Schools in Jersey City sent the following letter to Jersey City Schools.

Office of the Superintendent of Schools  
Jersey City, New Jersey, Jan. 4, 1938

To the Principals:

Your attention is called to the proclamation of Mayor Hague, published in today's local newspapers.

The press today discloses that Roger N. Baldwin, the leader of the Communist elements who are attempting to invade Jersey City, directed his followers to make a special appeal to the school teachers in their campaign against Mayor Hague. Because of this, it is important that the teachers of Jersey City demonstrate their loyalty to our Mayor and the principles for which he stands; and it is, therefore, imperative that every teacher, able to do so, should attend this patriotic rally.

Very truly yours,  
James A. Nugent  
Superintendent of Schools

First evidence of the change in attitude of the press came the day following the second meeting when a reporter made the assertion that he could only write up the report on the meeting but couldn't tell what would happen to it inside. No word of the meeting appeared in the papers for one week and then one badly mangled paragraph in only one of the County's papers.

Shortly after the Jersey City Teachers Association held its meeting to discuss signing of waivers, and though Controller Greer of Jersey City made a most appealing plea to teachers, and Superintendent of Schools James A. Nugent advised President George O'Brien to secure name and school address of every teacher who rose to discuss or question Greer's report, the teachers voted eight to one to defer signing of waivers until a further meeting

could be held.

After a month of petty persecutions that had the teachers whispering in private and assuming a clam-like silence in public on the subject of waivers, the Jersey City Board of Education realized that direct action would be necessary to crush the rebelling teachers. Waivers were immediately presented and the heat was turned on. Policemen met teachers on street corners and heckled them to sign waivers. Principals told teachers it would be suicide to refuse to sign and that any teacher refusing to sign would have to take his waiver personally to the Superintendent and make his own explanation. Superintendent Nugent released a report to the papers that teachers were rapidly signing waivers, claiming that some schools had signed one hundred per cent when there was definite evidence that his claims were false. He also accused underground elements of influencing teachers to refuse to sign. The press ignored an answer by the Hudson County Teachers Union and did not mention the subject of waivers for four days. Finally on the day before the scheduled meeting of the Jersey City Teachers Association to discuss waivers, the Jersey Observer made a vicious attack on Jersey City teachers who lived out of town, accusing them of being an underground element interested only in getting their full legal salary, and advised teachers "that in view of the facts stated the Jersey City Teachers Association should vote unanimously to sign waivers." Approximately twenty teachers, mostly Union members, voted against signing of waivers and Jersey City teachers with possibly one exception signed "voluntary waivers".

Hague's answer to this cooperation was to accuse teachers of being responsible for juvenile delinquency and to characterize education as standing still. Of course not through any fault of his. This benevolent treatment of teachers should make them well able to cope with any situation.



# Educational Kaleidoscope

## ● THE PRESIDENT'S PAGE

TEACHERS are being arrested in Japan. On a single day it was reported that in Tokyo fifteen government and private university professors had been arrested and that throughout Japan three hundred and seventy-five others had been taken into custody. "Documents seized were said to show a program calling for opposition to Fascism and war and cooperation in world wide democratic movements." One or two fearless presidents of Japanese universities have resigned, the others remain silent. Two American teachers return to the United States rather than remain silent and impotent while the rape of China continues. In China American schools are being destroyed with American scrap iron fired by Japanese soldiers.

In Brazil we find illiteracy, poverty, disease, and dictatorship. In Spain schools are being destroyed and children forced to fight almost before they become old enough to bear a gun. Meanwhile our government refuses the right to trade with Loyalist Spain. Apparently the world is not yet safe for free public school education dedicated to truth and the common good. Even in our own country in spite of all our educational heritage only about twelve per cent of our adults graduate from high school. In some states the appropriation for Negroes actually sinks as low as \$5.20 per year. . . .

Believe it or not, at present in America *we are not even teaching what* democracy is, much less defending it. Professor Fraser of the University of Michigan has proved from an exhaustive examination of our text-books that our schools neither explain nor defend democracy. The result is that a child might easily think that even the Ku Klux Klan program, disguised as it often is under slogans such as "patriotic liberty and the right of private property" was democratic. No wonder many adults continue to fall victims to muddled thinking when it comes to the great issues confronting this nation. Some school boards would even penalize or expel an outstanding democratic teacher who joined the American Federation of Teachers movement while promoting or rewarding any nonentity who supports the status quo. . . .

President Conant of Harvard recently reminded us that today eighty per cent of the families of the country receive no more than \$2,000 a year and cannot afford to send their children to college. The United States therefore has a vast untapped reservoir of ability and brain power which is probably worth far more than all our untapped natural resources. To remedy this situation

we should provide public scholarships to college and universities sufficiently generous to pay all expenses, and open on equal terms to the best brains of the rising generation, regardless of class. *We need the conservation of human resources even more than natural resources. . . .*

The President's Advisory Committee on Education has recently spoken. At last as a nation we are beginning to recognize that education needs national support. Elsewhere these proposals are commented on at length. Of course, the amounts proposed (only seventy million dollars next year) are inadequate as the committee itself recognizes, but this is a beginning. We do not approve of all the provisions but we do believe that on the whole the proposed program should have the enthusiastic backing of those who desire to see educational progress.

America hardly flickers when a billion dollar naval program is proposed. Yet in reality educational appropriations are of far more value. An intelligent, informed electorate, geographically situated as we are, can always protect itself. Ignorance is far more dangerous to America than hostile armies. Conversely, education is the very basis of peace, prosperity, and defensive power. . . .

The American Federation of Teachers is engaged in a patriotic quest to build the best of possible educational systems. Already we are cooperating with the National Education Association and the Progressive Education Association. We also have a joint committee with the American Association of University Professors. *We have long been actively working to promote Federal Aid to Education.* We hope in the near future to call a great national conference at Washington to advance this cause.

Every member of our organization can well rejoice in the fact that from New York to Chicago, to Atlanta, and to the Coast we are going forward in the enrollment of public school teachers. By the time you read these words we shall have made a one hundred per cent gain in membership within a two year span. Chicago has become one of the three largest local unions of teachers in the world. The New York College Teachers Union has become the largest in its field. Yale and Harvard have long had locals. We welcome with this issue a new local at Princeton University. But the times require us to double and quadruple our efforts. Let us build a greater Federation, one in which we are promoting justice and unity, both within our own ranks and within the world of labor.

JEROME DAVIS.



# Radio Education

## ● ITS POTENTIALITIES AND ITS DANGERS

### Will Radio Replace the Teacher?

I. KEITH TYLER

THE USE of radio by teachers in the classroom undergoes attack from time to time by those who should be its best friends. Teachers who call themselves progressive and those who profess an interest in democracy in education should be the very ones who are most enthusiastic about the opportunities which radio affords for the education of children. Yet many teachers who pride themselves on their progressive educational practices turn a cold shoulder to radio education and a number of leaders in the American Federation of Teachers have taken up cudgels to attack it. Such is the unfortunate situation with regard to an educational tool which in itself is neither good nor bad! Like books or films, the radio can be used either for worthy or for unworthy ends.

Many of us who have devoted our time to a study of the field of radio education have thought that the old bugaboo "Radio will displace the teacher!" had long since been laid to rest. Direct teaching by radio, which comes nearest to taking over the functions of the teacher, has become less and less important in the thinking of most radio educators and broadcasts of this type occupy smaller and smaller proportions of time. Yet, in the epidemic emergency in Chicago, when the radio was used in makeshift fashion to do a small fraction of the job that the schools had been doing, some teachers raised the cry that their positions were endangered by this modern invention. They felt it their duty to attack radio education in the cause of teacher freedom.

This would be ridiculous if it were not so tragic. Sellers of soaps and mouthwashes, politicians and statesmen, demagogues, musicians and preachers, turn the radio to their own ends. But a few presumably enlightened teachers see in it only a threat to their own security. As though a mechanical invention in itself could ever nurture the young with that fine combination of artistry and scientific technique which represents teaching at its best.

Now that the Chicago schools have re-opened and the hue and cry has settled down, it ought to be possible to examine the radio as an aid and asset to the teacher without any one drawing the implication that the whole movement is an attack upon the security of teachers. Whatever may have been the hasty conclusions drawn by the Chicago school authorities as a result of their naive experience with emergency broadcasting, time and wise counsel

have already sobered their thinking along modest lines. The newly organized Radio Council of the Chicago schools is trying to find out what broadcasts have to offer to aid education. I am sure that no one any longer believes, if he ever did, that a complete educational job can be done through broadcasting.

Let us understand at the outset just what radio education is. The radio is nothing more than a means of communication with certain potentialities greater than sight, reading, or direct experience, but at the same time with very definite limitations. The radio can provide experiences for children in the classroom but it cannot observe the results. It can take but little account of the individual needs and interests of children and it certainly cannot in itself provide either diagnosis or remedial treatment. In itself it is as purposeless as a book or a film. It becomes helpful and educational only when used judiciously in the accomplishment of desirable objectives by a teacher who knows the needs and interests of her particular group of children.

Democracy, to be effective, must rest upon the intelligence and understanding of those concerned. Provincialism, narrow textbook teaching, one-sided presentation of controversial issues, and preoccupation with skills and unrelated information, are all enemies of democracy because they tend to prevent the development of critical intelligence and social sensitivity on the part of children. The frequent use of the radio can do much to overcome provincialism, to supplement the textbook, to bring in all sides of controversial issues, to develop a concern with current problems and to educate emotions as well as intellect. For this reason, I believe that if the radio is used intelligently, it can make a tremendous contribution to the classroom. How can children be concerned only with their own neighborhood when they hear frequent dramatizations of life in other communities, when they follow the news via radio and when they witness by means of a radio commentator stirring events that occur in other parts of the world? And especially when a school does not have a good library nor adequate enrichment material the teacher can still supplement the textbook by bringing children into contact with great personalities, with fine music, with discussions of current problems, with dramatizations of folk tales and with various interpretations of history and geography.

In a similar way, I cannot understand why teachers who call themselves progressive are not among the foremost users of the radio. No doubt the reason is largely



historical. In the early days of school broadcasting, it was conceived as a means for bringing the master teacher into every classroom. Thinking, planning and even evaluation was done at a central office by the broadcaster and the teacher's job was that of seeing that the children listened and that they did those tasks which the radio teacher set before them. That, however, is not the significant function of radio in the classroom. Such a procedure may help in a pinch. Professor Joseph Maddy made music lessons available by radio to thousands of rural children in Michigan who could not have had them otherwise. That was direct teaching by a master teacher. Yet the result of these broadcasts was not displacement of music teachers. Instead interest in public school music was so aroused in countless communities that the demand for music teachers in Michigan increased by leaps and bounds.

There are many broadcasts on the air which are planned for use in the classroom. Most of these are of the enrichment type. Both the National Broadcasting Company and the Columbia Network have regular series in various subjects. In addition there are regional broadcasts available such as the Wisconsin School of the Air, and the school broadcasts over WLW in Cincinnati. Many local communities have broadcasts of their own planned particularly to supplement the local curriculum. Teachers have a wide variety of school broadcasts from which

to choose.

But school broadcasts are not the whole of radio education. There are many other broadcasts on the air during school hours which may be brought into the classroom. These include special-events broadcasts, music, drama and talks to name but a few. The out-of-school hours—evening and late afternoon—are full of valuable broadcasts to be discussed in school and assigned as home listening. Even those programs which seem biased and propagandistic can be discussed in terms of their influence on public opinion and pupils can be helped to develop critical standards for evaluating such programs. The social studies classroom can afford children the opportunity to discuss the news broadcasts, the speeches and the round-table debates which they heard the preceding evening. Similarly drama can do much to aid the English teacher. As for music, children today have readily available the finest music performed by accomplished musicians—an opportunity which previous generations never had, unless they were located in the largest cities and were economically favored.

How can one dismiss all these potentialities because radio in the wrong hands may be used in a way inimical to the freedom of teachers? If we are really concerned with the enlargement of the horizon of our students and with the enrichment of their experience, let us not neglect a tool so valuable as the radio.

## Radio Education in Chicago

KERMIT EBY

THE CHICAGO TEACHERS UNION has found that it must be constantly on the alert to oppose the misuse of sound educational innovations by a corrupt political machine working through a politically controlled board of education. One of the most recent examples of such misuse was the substitution of education by radio in place of the regular educational program in the schools last September when the public schools were closed because of a poliomyelitis epidemic. Chicago teachers suspected that the epidemic was exploited for all it was worth by Dr. Bundesen in order to regain the public favor that he had lost when the amoebic dysentery epidemic was covered up for fear World Fair attendance would decline if the facts were published. Mistrust was furthered by the knowledge that the radio education program was being substituted by a board of education that previously had sacrificed such modern educational aids as junior high schools and vocational guidance; by the same board that allowed teachers to go unpaid for months during the payless pay days of 1933 and 1934; by the same board that in September 1937, was spending more for maintenance of school buildings than any other comparable city, while expenditures for instruction ranked thirteenth; by the same board that

permitted fraudulently conducted principals' examinations; by the same board that overburdens teachers with record keeping to the detriment of the children's welfare; by the same board that permits the superintendent to conduct a well-oiled spy system and to threaten principals and teachers with loss of jobs if they oppose him. (Already one principal and two normal college teachers have been demoted.)

Intelligent people realize that the radio can be a mighty force in regimentation and the breakdown of democracy. A German friend recently said that Hitler would have been impossible without the radio. And like the German masses, pupils taught by radio cannot interrupt, cannot ask questions, can only listen. The radio teacher always has the last word. Dr. George Axtelle of Northwestern very aptly argues that radio lends itself to indoctrination and cripples critical, reflective capacities.

Radio education has no provision for actual social participation and interaction. It destroys the exchange of ideas made possible by contact between teacher and pupil. There is no opportunity for proposing, planning, executing, and evaluating on the part of the students; therefore much of the good for which education is intended would be lost. No greater catastrophe could befall American education than for radio to become a substitute for

group life activity, planning and reflection.

The Chicago Teachers Union does not wish to be misunderstood in its opposition to education over the air. Radio may be a supplement for formal education. As such it plays and will continue to play an increasingly important part in the instruction and welfare of the schools

and students. As an aid to active social education, it has untold possibilities. The potentialities of radio are tremendous, for good and for evil. The Chicago Teachers Union, because of its unique position and high standards, felt it should assume the responsibility of calling the attention of the public to the inherent dangers in radio.

## A MODEL BILL BUREAU

● ROSS THALHEIMER

AT A RECENT meeting of the National Legislative Committee of the AFT, convening at the instance of its energetic chairman Mary F. Grossman, the Legislative Committee of the Baltimore Teachers Union was appointed to act as a subcommittee on state legislation. As its first undertaking, it was asked to draw up a series of "model" bills designed to serve as guides to the AFT locals throughout the country in the drafting of measures to be introduced in their respective state legislatures. In its capacity as a subcommittee on state legislation, and enlarged so as to include certain advisers and assistants, the Legislative Committee of the Baltimore Teachers Union has apparently acquired the somewhat imposing title of "The Model Bill Bureau".

To date the Bureau has completed two model bills, one on sabbatical leave and one on certification. In addition, the Bureau has endeavored to render such supplementary legislative assistance as its as yet somewhat limited resources have enabled it to provide.

During the brief period of its existence the Bureau has received requests for legislative aid from locals in nearly half the states of the country. The character of these requests has made two points abundantly clear.

In the first place, it has become plain that there is a genuine need among the AFT locals for an agency which will perform the functions for which the Model Bill Bureau has been created. It has become plain, that is to say, that there is a real need for the legislative guidance which the drafting of model bills can provide. It is, of course, an obvious fact that no model bill can serve as an equally adequate guide in each of the forty-eight states. Differences in legal terminology, differences in administrative organization, differences in educational conditions, and, finally, differences in political sentiment among the several states will make some changes in every model bill imperative if it is to be appropriate for local use. But fortunately these legalistic, administrative, educational, and political differences are in most cases of such a character that the changes required will relate to details in the bills rather than to essentials. They thus do not seriously militate against the usefulness of model bills as legislative guides.

It has, however, become evident, and this is the second point, that the duties of the Bureau should not stop at

drawing up a series of model bills, but should be extended to include the rendering of legislative assistance to locals in every manner possible. True, it has become clear that the Bureau should write full-length briefs in support of its model bills, that it should prepare up-to-date and detailed bibliographies, that it should acquire a large collection of circulars and pamphlets so that it will be able to give, or at least lend, material upon request, and that it should equip itself to render such additional bill-drafting and advisory assistance to locals—even to the extent of presenting practical suggestions for the conduct of legislative campaigns—as it may from time to time be called upon to give. The Bureau has already made a beginning in these undertakings; it is hoped that in the near future its work in these directions will be well advanced.

As the sphere of activity of the Bureau expands, it will doubtless become necessary to secure the active cooperation of an increasing proportion of the AFT membership. Indeed, it seems to me that such a step should, in the interest of genuine democracy within the Federation, be taken as quickly as possible. I think that perhaps the best way to achieve this democratic ideal, without relinquishing the centralized control which is obviously necessary, would be to set up a dozen or more Advisory Committees composed of interested union members throughout the country. Thus, there might be set up an Advisory Committee on Sabbatical Leave, an Advisory Committee on Certification, an Advisory Committee on Salary, an Advisory Committee on Tenure, and so forth. Such Advisory Committees, consisting, perhaps, of some fifteen to thirty members each, could aid the Bureau, not only in its various research activities, but in the actual preparation of model bills as well. Under such an organizational set-up, e.g., a preliminary draft of a model bill could, prior to its final adoption, be submitted to the appropriate Advisory Committee for detailed comment and criticism. Or such an Advisory Committee might even take the initiative in formulating such a bill.

There are perhaps some who are reading this report who would care to make further recommendations as to the work of the Bureau. Such suggestions, as well as all other communications intended for the Bureau, should be addressed to me at 2311 N. Charles Street, Baltimore, Maryland.



# President's Committee Recommends:

A critical summary of the report of President Roosevelt's Advisory Education Committee

By CHARLES H. THOMPSON

**A**FTER INTENSIVE study of the relationships of the Federal Government to state and local conduct of education in the United States, the Advisory Committee on Education has transmitted its Report to the President who, in turn, transmitted it to the Congress on Feb. 23, 1938. The purpose of this paper is to present a brief summary of the recommendations of the Report; to compare its provisions with those of the pending Harrison-Black-Fletcher Bill, and the O'Day-Scott Bill (sponsored by the AFT); and to give a brief critical appraisal of the Report in general.

## Federal Grants for Educational Services in the States

The sections dealing with this aspect of the Report are probably the most far-reaching as far as the relationship of the Federal government to education is concerned. The Committee proposes that the Federal government adopt the policy of general Federal aid to the states for an experimental period of six years, at the end of which it should be determined whether it should become permanent. The basis of this proposal is the rather obvious, certainly uncontroverted, fact that the states are far from equal in their ability to support an adequate minimum program of public education. Hence, it is the obligation of the Federal government to provide the means of equalization.

*Proposed and Existing Grants.*—Table I presents a summary of the proposed and existing Federal grants for educational services in the several states. *First*, the Committee proposes that, beginning July 1, 1939, \$70,000,000 be appropriated for general aid to the states for *a.* the support of elementary and secondary schools; *b.* improved preparation of teachers; *c.* construction of school buildings; *d.* administration of state departments of education; *e.* educational services for adults, and *f.* library service for rural areas; and that the appropriation be annually increased until 1944-45 when the grants will total \$199,000,000.

*Second*, the Committee proposes that beginning July 1, 1938, an additional grant of \$1,250,000 be given to the U. S. Office of Education and be increased annually until it reaches \$3,000,000 in 1939-40, continuing until 1944-45, for the purpose of subsidizing cooperative research projects carried on by both "public and private non-profit institutions or other agencies approved by the Office of Education."

*Third*, it will be observed that the present existing grants to the states total \$53,594,000 for the fiscal year beginning July 1, 1938, and will reach \$54,873,000 by 1944-45. The Committee recommends that these grants be continued and

TABLE I. PROPOSED AND EXISTING FEDERAL GRANTS FOR EDUCATIONAL SERVICES  
(In thousands of dollars)

	1938-39	1939-40	1940-41	1941-42	1942-43	1943-44	1944-45
<b>I. Proposed Grants to States</b>							
General aid to elementary and secondary education.....		\$ 40,000	\$ 60,000	\$ 80,000	\$100,000	\$120,000	\$140,000
Improved preparation of teachers.....		2,000	4,000	6,000	6,000	6,000	6,000
Construction of school buildings to facilitate district reorganization.....		20,000	30,000	30,000	30,000	30,000	30,000
Administration of State departments of education.....		1,000	1,500	2,000	2,000	2,000	2,000
Educational services for adults.....		5,000	10,000	15,000	15,000	15,000	15,000
Library service for rural areas.....		2,000	4,000	6,000	6,000	6,000	6,000
Total proposed grants to States.....		\$ 70,000	\$109,500	\$139,000	\$159,000	\$179,000	\$199,000
<b>II. Proposed Grants to U. S. Office of Education</b>							
For cooperative educational research, planning and demonstrations.....	\$ 1,250	\$ 2,000	\$ 3,000	\$ 3,000	\$ 3,000	\$ 3,000	\$ 3,000
<b>III. Existing Grants to States</b>							
Vocational education.....	\$21,785	\$ 21,785	\$ 21,785	\$ 21,785	\$ 21,785	\$ 21,785	\$ 21,785
Vocational rehabilitation.....	1,983	1,983	1,983	1,983	1,983	1,983	1,983
Land-grant colleges.....							
Resident instruction.....	5,030	5,030	5,030	5,030	5,030	5,030	5,030
Agricultural research.....	6,860	7,477	7,500	7,512	7,525	7,537	7,542
Extension service.....	17,936	18,333	18,373	18,413	18,453	18,493	18,533
Total existing grants to States.....	\$53,594	\$ 54,608	\$ 54,671	\$ 54,723	\$ 54,776	\$ 54,828	\$ 54,873
<b>GRAND TOTAL</b> .....	<b>\$54,844</b>	<b>\$126,608</b>	<b>\$167,171</b>	<b>\$196,723</b>	<b>\$216,776</b>	<b>\$236,828</b>	<b>\$256,873</b>



the legislation authorizing their appropriation be revised as indicated in a subsequent section of this summary.

*Fourth*, the total amount of Federal aid including both existing and proposed grants will amount to \$256,873,000 for the fiscal year 1944-45, or \$202,000,000 in addition to the sum normally expected. In general the Committee recommends that some \$800,000,000 in addition to existing grants be made available over a period of six years for Federal support of education in the states, with the provision that at the end of that period the work be reviewed as a basis for determining whether the policy should be continued.

*Administration of Proposed Grants.*—In the administration of the proposed grants it will be observed, *first*, that unlike the pending Harrison-Black-Fletcher Bill (S. 419, H.R. 5962), which used merely the number of pupils as a basis of allocation, but very similar to the provisions of the O'Day-Scott Bill (H.R. 5413) sponsored by the American Federation of Teachers, the Committee recommends that the Federal funds be allocated to the states on the basis of both educational load and financial ability. This principle applies in case of each fund, except that aid to state departments is conditioned on a flat grant of \$5,000 to each state with the remainder of the appropriation following the general principle, and except that aid for adult education and rural library service is allocated on the basis of the adult and rural populations, respectively, of the several states.

*Second*, unlike several existing grants, matching by state or local funds is required only in the case of aid for construction of school buildings.

*Third*, with the one exception of aid to state departments of education, joint planning is required to cover the method of distribution of funds within each state. Such joint plans will be made by the state department of education representing the State and the U. S. Office of Education representing the Federal Government. Moreover, it is specifically recommended that these plans do not include prescriptions of what is to be taught or how; but rather be confined to purposes of safeguarding their use for the *general* ends for which they are appropriated.

*Fourth*, in view of the discriminatory treatment received by Negroes in separate schools, the Committee specifically recommends "that for all states maintaining separate schools for Negroes, the proposed grants be conditioned upon the formulation of joint plans that will provide for an equitable distribution of the Federal grants between white and Negro schools, without reduction of the proportion of state and local funds spent for Negro schools." Moreover, the Committee further recommended that "In the case of States maintaining separate schools for Negroes, information should be reported and published separately for white and Negro schools."

*Administration of Existing Grants.*—In the administra-



tion of existing grants, which include funds for *a.* vocational education, *b.* vocational rehabilitation, and *c.* land-grant colleges—resident instruction, agricultural research and the extension service, the Committee recommends radical revision of present legislation governing them. The main criticisms which such revision is suggested to eliminate are *a.* encroachment of the Federal government upon local conduct of schools; *b.* a too narrow interpretation of vocational education; *c.* lack of coordination of the various Federal agencies working in the same field; and *d.* unjust and discriminatory treatment of Negroes in those states that maintain separate schools.

Moreover, the Committee specifically recommends that "The provision of the George-Deen Act with respect to plant-training programs should be continued and extended to apply to all Federal aid available for vocational education. The grants for vocational education should be conditioned by law upon the inclusion in the joint plans of provisions with respect to the maintenance of adequate protection against the industrial and commercial exploitation of children and youth in connection with vocational education for gainful employment, and in connection with employment in business or industry as a part of public vocational education."

#### Reorganization and Coordination of Existing Federal Agencies

Without doubt the most important recommendations of the Committee which fall under this caption have to do with the conservation of youth. They are discussed under the more euphonious title, "The Education and Adjustment of Youth". The Committee recommends the organization of the National Youth Administration and Civilian Conservation Corps into one administrative unit, designated the National Youth Service Administration; and that definite legislative provision be made for its maintenance until 1945, when its further existence will be determined.

*Education and Adjustment of Youth.*—More specifically the Committee recommends, *first*, that the student-aid program of the NYA, with some minor modifications, be given statutory authorization for the experimental period ending in 1945.

*Second*, it is recommended that the Bureau of Labor Statistics be assigned the task of carrying on an "occupational outlook service". The Committee suggests that an initial appropriation of not less than \$50,000 should be provided for this purpose.

*Third*, the Committee recommends that provision be made for the permanent establishment of a counseling service in the public employment offices, and that the Junior Placement Service of the NYA be transferred to the U. S. Employment Service and the affiliated state services. Some \$500,000 is estimated to be needed for these purposes.

*Fourth*, it is recommended that "the existing program for the revival of apprenticeship now being promoted by the U. S. Department of Labor with the assistance of the Federal Committee on Apprentice Training and several hundred state and local Committees on apprentice training, should be pushed forward as rapidly as possible." "... at least \$135,000 should be provided for the purpose during the next fiscal year."

*Fifth*, work camps of the CCC and the work projects of the NYA are to be continued; and their administration placed under the proposed National Youth Service Administration.

*Sixth*, the administration of the CCC is to be placed

entirely upon a civilian basis. "All personnel stationed in the camps should be placed upon a civilian status, educational factors should be given major consideration in their selection, and their tenure should be placed upon a more regular basis."

*Education in Special Federal Jurisdictions.*—*First*, the Committee, after a very searching investigation of public education in the District of Columbia, found that the uncoordinated machinery consisting of the District Board of Education, the District Commissioners, and the Congress complicated the operation of the schools. They suggested that "The Board of Education would unquestionably be able to provide a considerably more flexible and modern program at a reasonable cost if it were given more discretion over educational policies." Moreover, the Committee recommended that "... the District of Columbia be included so far as feasible in all educational grants on the same basis as a State." This is not true now, except in the case of the George-Deen funds.

*Second*, "The provision of suitable educational facilities for all the inhabitants of the several territories and outlying possessions should be encouraged, and these facilities should be organized and administered through procedures as democratic as may prove feasible in the various

TABULAR ANALYSIS OF THE MAIN PROVISIONS OF THE ADVISORY COMMITTEE'S REPORT,  
THE HARRISON-BLACK-FLETCHER BILL, AND THE O'DAY-SCOTT (AFT) BILL

Provisions	Harrison-Black-Fletcher Bill (as amended)	O'Day-Scott (AFT) Bill	Committee Report
1. Principle of general Federal aid adopted	Yes	Yes	Yes
2. Principle of equalization adopted	No	Yes	Yes
3. Basis of allocation to the States, D. C. and Territories	School population only	School population and financial ability	School population and financial ability
4. Federal control limited to administration	Yes	Yes	Yes
5. Amount of additional funds available at beginning of the 6th year	\$300,000,000	\$500,000,000	\$202,000,000
6. Duration of aid	Permanent policy	Permanent policy	Six-year experiment, permanent thereafter if found desirable
7. Method of distribution within States	Left to State generally; except that every school must run 160 days	Left to State generally; except that every school must run 160 days; and have increasingly improved attendance of pupils	Joint plans by U. S. Office of Education and State Departments of Education
8. Participation of private schools permissible	Yes (By implication)	Yes (By implication)	Yes (Within certain funds only)
9. Definition of public schools left to States	Yes	Yes	Yes
10. Equitable distribution to schools separately maintained for racial groups required	Indirectly Yes	Specifically Yes	Specifically Yes





situations." Moreover, they "... should be included so far as feasible in all of the existing and proposed new Federal grants on the same basis as the various states."

*Third*, "The Congress should establish a permanent policy by which every child residing on a Federal reservation or foreign station will be assured the right to an education."

*Fourth*, "The policy of the Office of Indian Affairs to educate the Indians to develop their own social and economic resources, to the end that they may become socially competent and economically self-sufficient, should be continued, and adequate facilities should be provided to maintain a program for the attainment of the objectives."

#### A Critical Appraisal of the Report

Probably the most concrete approach to a critical appraisal of the Committee's Report is a comparison of its provisions with those of the amended Harrison-Black-Fletcher Bill (S 419, H.R. 5962) and the AFT-sponsored O'Day-Scott Bill (H.R. 5413), both of which were introduced in the first session of the present Congress. The following tabular summary presents a comparative analysis of the main provisions of these three documents:

*First*, it should be observed that while the provisions of these three documents are generally very similar, yet the Report and the O'Day-Scott Bill are more nearly alike than the Harrison-Black-Fletcher Bill is like either. And this is due primarily to the fact that both the O'Day-Scott Bill and the Report are definitely committed to the principle that general Federal aid should be given unequivocally on the basis of need; while the Harrison-Black-Fletcher Bill obviously sacrifices the principle of need for expediency, by permitting distribution of Federal aid on the basis of school population alone. There is absolutely no doubt about the fact, however, that the Report recommends general Federal aid on the only defensible basis upon which it should be given, despite the fact that it is probably going to be much harder to enact legislation embodying this principle.

Incidentally, it might be added here that the O'Day-

Scott Bill and the Report are specific and unequivocal on the issue of equitable distribution of funds to schools separately maintained for racial groups. The Harrison-Black-Fletcher Bill, while amended to cover this point, does so by indirection.

*Second*, it should be pointed out that all three of these documents agree that *a.* general Federal aid should be made available to the states; *b.* Federal control should be limited to such administration as is necessary to safeguard the use of the funds, but should have nothing to do with what is to be taught or how; *c.* the participation of private and parochial schools is to be determined by each State; and *d.* the definition of public schools should likewise be left to the States.

*Third*, on at least two points the Report differs from the two Bills. While the Bills would provide for Federal aid as a permanent policy, the Report recommends that we set up a six-year experiment at the end of which it should be determined whether or not it should be made permanent. This recommendation is sound and appears to be an improvement over both of the Bills. The second point has to do with the method of distribution of funds within a State. The Report proposes that joint plans be worked out by the U. S. Office of Education and the various State Departments of Education, while the two Bills require certain definite objective requirements be met; the Harrison-Black-Fletcher Bill requires that each school shall be run at least 160 days, and the O'Day-Scott Bill requires not only that each school be run at least 160 days but also that pupil attendance be increasingly improved. It appears here that the Bills (and particularly the O'Day-Scott Bill) are superior to the proposal of the Report. There ought to be some more definite assurance than appears in the Report that States will use additional funds to lessen inequalities within their borders. It appears that Mr. Thomas, the member of the Committee who presented a minority report indicating this issue, among others, has a point here at least.

After a thorough study of the Report, the writer is

convinced that it constitutes the most fundamental and forward-looking statement on Federal relations to education that he has seen—despite the Report of the Hoover National Advisory Committee on Education (1929-30). While one may question certain details such as the amount of money recommended, or the length of the experiment and the like, certainly there is little occasion for fundamental criticism of the basic philosophy underlying the recommendations or of the general recommendations themselves. I say "little occasion", because there is one exception to this statement which should be given attention in this general appraisal. That exception has to do with the Committee's recommendation that participation of private and parochial schools in the benefits of these grants shall be permitted if any State desires it.

Without doubt there is considerable honest difference of opinion on this issue. Personally, I should prefer to see all of these Federal monies restricted to the support of public schools, not so much because I fear the re-union of "Church and State" in education in this country (as many critics profess to dread) as for the very simple reason that there just isn't enough money to go to both. Quite obviously, however, the main, if not the only, justification for using public funds for the support of private and parochial schools is that such schools actually perform a necessary supplementary function of public education. In some States, private and parochial schools provide educational opportunity which otherwise would not be available because of the inadequate provision of public school facilities. In still other States, private and parochial schools are an unnecessary duplication of existing public school facilities. There may be considerable justification for allowing the States to designate the first group of schools as public schools for the purposes of distributing these grants, but no such justification obtains in the case of the second group. It would appear, therefore, that when the Committee recommends the participation of this second group of schools, it is on very questionable grounds to say the least; and the recommendation certainly needs much more justification than is given in the Report. One is forced to wonder whether *Time* (March 7, p. 42) was correct in its insinuation that this recommendation was born of expediency rather than principle.

On the other hand, the writer feels that this issue has been terribly distorted and exaggerated out of all proportion to the importance of the Report as a whole. One would be almost led to believe that the Report stood or fell on this issue alone, judging by the amount of space and emphasis given to it. And yet nothing is farther from the truth. The writer, after discounting this issue entirely, can still assert that the Report is the most fundamental and forward-looking statement on Federal relations to education that he has read. It is to be hoped that it can be translated into legislation and practice without the loss of any of its spirit and basic philosophy.

## YOUR MONEY'S WORTH

Consumer and Cooperative News

**M**ORE than half of the population of Great Britain is reported by Cooperative League News Service as enrolled in the cooperative movement. Last year goods produced in factories owned by cooperatives totaled \$190,000,000. During the year the Cooperative Wholesale Society invested \$12,000,000 in new buildings.

•Cod-liver oil from Newfoundland is likely to be of better quality than Norwegian brands. In the imported brands, the taste is sometimes less agreeable because of partial spoilage of the tissue, whereas the Newfoundland oil ordinarily is extracted at nearby plants while the fish livers are still fresh.

The strength of the Newfoundland brands is also likely to be greater, for Norwegian fishermen sometimes mix the livers of other kinds of fish with those of the cod.—(Consumers Union)

•The Cooperative League of the U.S.A. has scheduled two \$60 13-day tours to Nova Scotia for next August to visit cooperatives in mining, fishing, and farming communities.

•Four cooperative health associations are in the process of formation in and around New York City, the Bureau of Cooperative Medicine announced recently.

These associations are located in Brooklyn, Manhattan, and Nassau County. Plans of these organizations are unique in that preventive medicine and health education are to be stressed.

•Women may pay from 5 cents to 80 cents a gram (1/28 of an ounce) for lipstick, depending on whether they use the 10-cent Irresistible brand or the \$1.50 product of Elizabeth Arden. But there is very little difference in quality among most brands; the wide variation in price is chiefly due to the renown of the distributor and, to some extent, to the type of container. Ruth de Forest Lamb has shown that one lipstick selling for \$1.25 costs less than 8 cents for both stick and case.

Of the 45 brands tested by Consumers Union, only one (Helena Rubenstein) was found irritating. About half of the persons who used it complained of an astringent effect or a stinging sensation.—(Consumers Union)





## The Financial Situation in Ohio

The Ohio State Federation of Teachers is now struggling with two financial problems of major significance to teachers and to the schools of the state.

The Anti-Sales Tax League has initiative petitions in circulation which provide for an amendment to the state Constitution forbidding the levying of sales taxes. Of course, we are opposed to taxes on sales because they are regressive and bear most heavily upon those least able to carry the burden. However, the School Foundation program, passed in 1935, provides state support for education of approximately \$48,000,000 a year. Almost seven-eighths of this amount is derived exclusively from sales taxes of various kinds. If these taxes are repealed without the previous enactment of replacement taxes, many districts would have their school terms cut from one-half to one-third. With such a situation in the offing there is but one stand that can be taken to protect the future of our schools—fight against the constitutional amendment and at the same time fight for a state income tax.

Another problem is to provide adequate retirement allowances to superannuated teachers. Boards of Education are passing rules retiring teachers at 65 instead of 70 as provided for in the retirement law; while the Secretary of the Retirement System is requesting a reduction in the interest rate from four per cent to three per cent. We have begun an active campaign among teachers calling their attention to the need for legislation to offset these threats to their security and we will be prepared with constructive legislation to correct this condition when the Legislature meets in 1939.

M. J. Eck, Executive Secretary,  
Ohio State Federation of Teachers.

## Tax Problems in Indiana

Indiana, during the period of depression, kept its schools open, paid its teachers, and maintained full length terms. The Gross Income Tax provided source of the funds, and local taxation provided the other portion. In 1938 the Gross Income Tax provides \$700.00 for each teaching unit in the state. This part of school financing looks easy and seems quite desirable. But the additional financing is not always so easily attained.

The County Tax Adjustment Board must approve a local budget for schools. This Board is composed of political appointees. In numerous cases the appointees are men from big industries whose sole qualification is their ability to keep down taxes for the "interest". This Board is also subject to minority pressure groups interested mainly in

# WHAT PRIC

small school budgets, not in efficient democratic schools.

The State Tax Adjustment Board must also review the local school budget. The feat of not getting budgets approved by these two Boards tends, too much, to hold budgets to lower levels of school financing. Often this results in overcrowded classes, in improper school housing, and in inadequate salaries for class room teachers.

These Tax Adjustment Boards are unduly influenced by minority pressure groups. Unless one pressure group is checked by another, a good cause may suffer. Usually educational budgets suffer.

JESSE STUTSMAN,  
Anderson, Indiana.

## Birmingham's School Crisis

Early in 1937 a special session of the Alabama legislature imposed a 2 per cent sales tax throughout Alabama "to solve the school crisis." Sixty-five per cent of the proceeds was earmarked for school purposes. These funds go to form the Minimum Program Fund and are appropriated to the various counties in such proportion as tend to equalize educational opportunities throughout the state. The poorer counties have been able to improve their schools and extend terms substantially. Those counties, however, in which educational opportunities were already above the state average receive proportionately small contributions from the sales tax.

Since 1929 ad valorem assessments have been declining. Taxes based upon these assessments had always formed the major portion of school revenue throughout the state. Even at this time in the city of Birmingham, 85 per cent of school revenue is derived from this source. The constant decline in revenue from ad valorem taxation and the division of the sales tax for purposes of equalization of educational opportunities have resulted in a school crisis in Birmingham which threatens to close the schools on April 15 of this year.

The Birmingham Board of Education entered the depression period with a reserve fund of \$715,000. Economies, including two 10 per cent reductions in teachers' salaries, abandonment of annual increments, etc., along with contributions from the reserve fund have been sufficient to keep the Birmingham schools running full nine-months' terms.

## ● TAX DIFFICULTIES AND SCHOOL FINANCING

# SCHOOLS?

During 1936 the publicity campaign proving "a return of prosperity" contrasted so sharply with the depression salaries still paid to the teachers that the Board of Education placed the teachers "back on schedule," which meant that annual increases were begun again. Neither the salary cuts nor the increases lost during the depression were restored.

Ad valorem assessments in Alabama are fixed by law at 60 per cent of the fair value of the property. Assessments have never averaged more than 35 per cent. During the depression years assessments, especially on industrial and business property, were drastically reduced, and no gesture has been made towards the restoration of assessments during the period of improved conditions. "Revenue from other forms of taxation" (meaning the sales tax) was used as an excuse in a recent statement by the tax assessor of Jefferson County for not enforcing the ad valorem tax law. The same reasoning is prevalent throughout the state.

Various "solutions" have been offered for the Birmingham school crisis including a \$200,000 appropriation from the city along with a \$160,000 cut in teachers' salaries. The teachers have lodged a strong protest against further salary reductions. The Board of Education did nothing besides maneuver the teachers into demanding a local sales tax. This support for a sales tax was later withdrawn.

The City Commission called off the vote on a sales tax and substituted a vote on a \$250,000 bond issue to supply part of \$400,000 needed.

STANTON E. SMITH,  
Regional Vice President.

## Philadelphia's Financial Emergency

Philadelphia schools are now in the clutches of a man-made financial stringency. The big real estate operators, extremely well organized in this city, have for years been demanding tax reduction. In 1932 and again in 1935 the Philadelphia Board of Education reduced the school tax  $\frac{1}{2}$  mill. More serious, assessed values of Philadelphia property have fallen one billion dollars since 1931. Last fall the Board of Education began to weigh the necessity for a tax rise. The real estate interests swiftly cracked down through a court fight led by Mayor S. Davis Wilson. The Supreme Court forbade the tax rise. Now Philadel-

phia schools face annual deficits of \$7,500,000. The Board cut the budget \$1,750,000 this year and threatens an additional slash of \$6,000,000 for 1939. The Union is exerting every effort to organize the teachers and the public in a Save Our Schools Campaign. On a local scale we seek the revision of assessments, which are inadequate in the case of large properties. We seek increased state aid, or a rise in the real estate tax rate if necessary, through the calling of a special session of the Legislature. We are active in the drive for Federal aid.

SAMUEL DRASIN, Chairman,  
School Finance Committee, Local 192

## The Tax Situation in Trenton

The city has reached its limit in bonded indebtedness. Most of the bonds yield a fairly high rate of interest and are non-callable. A large part of these bonds are in the hands of banks and insurance companies. They have not been refunded and the city continues to pay a higher rate of interest than current conditions warrant. The interest on the bonds has been paid regularly and the bonds are being redeemed as they fall due, thus reducing the total outstanding. A large part of the tax monies collected is earmarked for these payments.

There is a high percentage of delinquent taxes extending for years back. Some of these are being collected slowly. Some of the means used have been attaching the rents collected and encouraging the tax-payers to make small installment payments on tax bills. A tax sale was postponed for years and finally resorted to. The city took over many properties for lack of purchasers.

The city is being run on a minimum budget for schools, salaries of city employes, but maximum otherwise. City has purchased radio cars, garbage trucks, addressograph, etc., etc. For five years the public employes suffered a 20 per cent reduction in wages and have had no increments. This cut was reduced to 15 per cent for the current year.

A high percentage of the taxes collected is on the basis of assessment of real estate. The public employes and teachers have made an attempt to increase the assessed valuation on personal property. Wealthy people are assessed for almost nothing for personal property; e.g., one man reported to be worth a million (or more) is assessed for \$7500. His wife's jewels are insured for \$100,000. The city has lost heavily through reduction of assessments on real estate. The assessments are high (in many cases more than the cost or market value) and also unequal, especially on the more valuable properties. The owners of these have secured large reductions in their assessments. The Coun-



try Club has been reduced to one-fourth of its original assessments. Rider Business College claims it is a non-profit organization and has been exempted, although it made a "contribution"!

Between 1932 and 1937 the school budget was reduced nearly 32 per cent. This was accomplished in several ways. A 20 per cent cut in salaries was instituted. Six schools were closed. The positions of five principals and eighteen supervisors and administrative workers were abol-

ished. The positions of thirty-one teachers, nurses, and attendance workers were done away with. The budget for textbooks and supplies was cut 60 per cent. Summer schools, night schools, and summer swimming pools were discontinued. Building maintenance was cut 46 per cent. These and other curtailments were the effect of the tax situation on the school budget of the city.

ADDIE WEBER,  
President, Mercer County Local

## A Letter to Dr. Conant

The Cambridge Union of University Teachers, at a meeting held February 14, discussed President Conant's Annual Report to the Board of Overseers, published January 23; and voted to send to Mr. Conant, and to the press, the following statement in reply:

In his recent Annual Report President Conant says: "No one knows how serious is the unemployment of university men, but it seems to me highly probable that a diminution in the total number of students in the universities of this country is desirable." The Cambridge Union of University Teachers, AFT, Local No. 431, wishes at this point to express strong dissent.

With certain parts of the Report we heartily agree. Mr. Conant's emphasis upon recruiting for the learned professions "from all economic levels of society" by means of scholarships appears to us to be democratic and sound. He also seems to us right when he urges improving the *quality* of educational facilities, and making such facilities available to those students who can use them best.

But when he states that the country is in no pressing need of "a larger annual supply of graduates of liberal arts colleges and graduate schools," he is joining the advocates of an economy of scarcity. His "policy of limitation" of the number of educated men is in effect a ploughing under of human brains. This is thinking in terms of a static society, in which only a comparatively few doctors, teachers, engineers, etc., can be supported, because so many of the people haven't enough money to pay for professional services. This is mistaking education for a commercial enterprise—to be justified only by the profitable sale of the product in the existing market. But what of the actual human needs of our whole democratic society? Great numbers of families receive little or no medical care. Many of them are ill housed, ill clothed, ill fed; many of them have only a caricature of an education. To meet the actual needs of our whole people it is perfectly clear that *we are not producing nearly enough trained professionals.*

And what of the thousands of young people who are eager to get and entirely capable of profiting by a higher education so as to equip themselves for life in an increasingly

complex civilization? A few of these Mr. Conant would take in to replace "those who stand in the bottom quarter of the class." But what about the rest? Are thousands of competent young people to be told that they are not needed, that the potential wealth of this country is not to be developed by them and for them? This restricting of liberal education was one of the first changes made by the Nazis in Germany. It follows a principle characteristically approved by fascist governments; for only an uneducated people can be submerged and exploited. We cannot agree to this as sound; all of our best traditions in education are to open the doors of opportunity; not to close them.

We do not ask that Harvard or other universities enroll students beyond the capacity of the institutions. Nor do we want young people going to college only to find themselves in an economic trap—with no jobs when they graduate. But unemployment is not the result of education. And Mr. Conant's proposals would only transfer a few of the unemployed from the ranks of the educated to the ranks of the uneducated. What we urge is that the *fundamental* problem be faced. The present chaotic economy in America may not "need" more educated men and women. There are economic systems abroad which "need" fewer and fewer educated men and women. It is precisely in the countries where "a diminution in the total number of students in the universities" is now deemed desirable, that democracy is being destroyed.

Harvard has long fostered a strong current of liberal tradition, which has caused many people to expect real leadership from her. And President Conant has on various occasions been a spokesman for this liberal tradition. His apparent acquiescing in the present dilemma in the learned professions, instead of looking for either causes or remedies, thus appears to us a danger signal. Any genuine faith in education is a faith that education can solve such problems. Mr. Conant's statement that it is highly probable that "a diminution in the total number of students in the universities of this country is desirable" would have been profoundly shocking to those Americans who founded and fought for democratic education in America.

# Class Distinctions in English Education

A report on Britain's undemocratic schools, in our survey of education in other lands.

By G. C. T. GILES

THE MAINTENANCE of class distinctions is still the outstanding characteristic of English education today. Indeed, to an American, the intricate and complicated gradings and hierarchies must be almost incomprehensible.

We have still our "public" schools (Eton, Harrow, Winchester, etc.) over which there is no public control whatever and which remain the closed preserve of the sons and daughters of the well-to-do. We still have a sharp division between elementary and secondary schools. Thirty pupils is the normal size of class in the secondary school: it is an apparently unattainable ideal in the elementary. Playing fields, gymnasiums and laboratories are still denied to the elementary school, save in a few rare cases. We still have a profession sharply divided into grades with marked differences of salary and conditions.

After sixty years of universal and compulsory education, 90 per cent of the population still finish their education at the age of 14, while a bare 1 per cent ever reach the University, and of this 1 per cent not much more than half started in the elementary school.

The table below sets out the facts:

The Student Population of England and Wales  
in 1934. (Approximately)

	Thousands	per cent of total
In Elementary Schools .....	5,635	89
In Special Schools for Defectives.....	52	
In Nursery Schools .....	4.5	
In Junior Technical Schools.....	25	
In other Junior Schools.....	7	
	5,724	90.5
In Grant-earning Secondary Schools.....	448	
In Inspected, but not Grant-earning Secondary Schools .....	68	
In Inspected Preparatory Schools.....	20	
	536	8.5
In Teachers' Training Colleges (Not Universities).....	12	
In Technical Colleges (Full time only).....	15	
In Universities .....	40	6
	67	1
Total Lower .....	5,724	90.5
Total Higher .....	603	9.5
Total .....	6,327	100.0

From a democratic standpoint such distinctions are quite inexcusable. They are not even intelligible without a knowledge of the still brief history of popular education.

Up to 1870, education of the children of the masses was voluntary and controlled entirely by religious bodies. The Act of 1870 made it compulsory on local authorities to provide school places for all children.

In 1876 school attendance was made compulsory and in 1891 fees in elementary schools were abolished. Exemptions at the age of 10 and upwards were still frequent, while access to secondary education was practically barred. Up to the beginning of this century the bulk of the child population had to be content with a bare grounding in the three R's, given in buildings which were often quite unsuitable, in classes so large as to prohibit anything but mass instruction, and by teachers meagerly trained and poorly paid.

The last thirty years, however, has seen a gradual but extensive improvement in the character of the elementary school and some development of the facilities available for the children of poor parents to climb the educational ladder. An Act of 1902 enabled local authorities to do what had hitherto been denied them: to start secondary schools of their own or to subsidize existing schools. Later modifications included provision of scholarships and free places in secondary schools. As a result, by 1936, the number of pupils in grant-aided secondary schools had grown from 90,000 to 464,000, of whom about 50 per cent were "free-placers", i.e., did not pay fees.

The post-war reconstruction period produced sweeping proposals for the democratization of the educational system, some of which were implemented. The most far-reaching were based on the report of the Hadow Committee of 1927, blessed with the title of "Reorganization of the Primary School". According to this scheme, the whole of the primary system was to be reorganized on the basis of Junior Schools for children from 7 to 11 and Senior Schools for children of 11 to 16. The school-leaving age was to be raised immediately to 15 and eventually to 16. All Senior Schools were to be secondary in type and status and of varying bias. The report envisaged, in fact, secondary education for all and would have meant, had its intention been carried out, a fatal blow at the class system of education. Actually the result was not reorganization, but rationalization. The leaving age has not yet been raised. The great gulf be-



tween the primary and the secondary school remains unbridged. The post-war dreams of a democratic educational system have faded under the grim realities of economy.

It was not until 1936 that an act was passed to raise the leaving age to 15. The act does not come into force until September 1939 and the exemptions allowed for "beneficial employment" are likely to make it of little real value.

In the light of events, it is difficult to be optimistic about the prospects of a really democratic system of education in England. The considerable developments and improvements which have been recorded in the last twenty years have not seriously affected the essentially undemo-

cratic class character of the system. Indeed there are indications, not yet very marked, that access to secondary and university education is becoming not less but more difficult for the child from the elementary schools.

In the last three years admissions to secondary schools have shown a decline, while entrants from grant-aided secondary schools to the Universities also show a decrease. In spite of lip service to educational advance, the National Government shows no signs of willingness either to encourage the local authorities to go ahead or itself to sanction the expenditure necessary to construct a genuinely national and democratic system.

## *It's Happening Now*



### **Cutting the School Budget: Detroit**

RUNNING true to labor's pre-election estimate of him, Mayor Reading of Detroit has slashed into the school budget re-

quested by the Board of Education. In the face of a serious condition of overcrowding and understaffing in the schools, Mayor Reading removed six million dollars from a 30 million school budget. As a result only 200 new school teachers may be hired; the Board's minimum demand was for 360. The building program needed in the overcrowding situation cannot be met by the \$1,484,000 left for this purpose in the budget. Appropriations for direct relief also have been cut from a request of \$4,700,000 to \$3,000,000 by Detroit's business-minded Mayor.

### **Short Short Story**

CARL OHM entered the United States legally in 1929. He came from Germany as an anti-Nazi and took part in anti-Nazi organizations in New York. When he was arrested in a demonstration in New York in 1932, the Labor Department ordered his deportation to Germany. But the Committee for the Protection of the Foreign Born took up Ohm's plea not to be sent back to Germany, and for five years helped him fight his case back and forth through the Federal courts. And at the last rehearing, the Labor Department has dropped the charges. Carl Ohm no longer lives in the shadow of the chopping-block, and the Committee goes on in its untiring efforts to preserve in America asylum for those who are persecuted for their beliefs.

### **Comparative Wage Levels for Negroes in Virginia**

A SURVEY of the wages paid to Negro school teachers in the state of Virginia made by Professor Doxey A. Wilkerson of Howard University showed that on a yearly basis the Negro teacher gets a lower wage than the tobacco worker in the same state. The male tobacco worker in a typical year of work in a "high-pay" plant receives \$552 and the women workers in the same type of plant can expect to get \$472. A male Negro teacher receives \$548, a woman teacher \$417 as yearly wages. Dr. Wilkerson also pointed out that the formation of a tobacco workers' union in "low-pay plants brought the wages of these underpaid workers almost up to the level of the teachers' wages." In the light of these comparative figures, as Dr. Wilkerson points out, the Negro teacher needs to emphasize to the students the value of an understanding of collective bargaining and affiliation with organized labor.

### **The Persecutions Continue**

ABROAD THE Catholic Church has well nigh irreconcilable difference with the Nazis. Cardinal von Faulhaber, Archbishop of Munich, on February 13 cited a mass of evidence from Germany which proved the fact of Catholic persecution, always denied for public effect by the Nazis themselves. He also called attention to the "red-scare" tactics used by the Nazis against the Catholics' natural demand for control of religious matters. In Spain the long brown arm reaches out to prohibit the reading in Spanish churches under General Franco's control of the Papal Encyclical which condemned the persecution of the church in Germany.



### The Adventures of Mr. Kunze

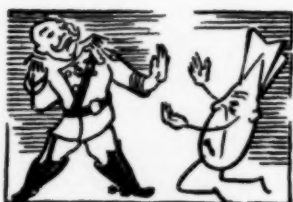
EARLY IN February, G. Wilhelm Kunze, a leading officer in the German-American Bund took a barn-storming trip across New York State which became a plain rout by the time he reached Buffalo. At Syracuse and Buffalo, his meetings were visited by members of the American Legion, who took the liberty (to Mr. K. probably a very strange thing) of asking him questions about his organization, especially his purpose in wanting to establish units in their towns. At Buffalo there was a fracas on the floor, but the "putsch" in New York State has definitely failed. Perhaps Mr. Kunze should revise his tactics. His meetings begin with the marching and stomping of gray-uniformed SA men; then the American flag is given the Nazi salute; after that Mr. Kunze usually delivers, in his speech, a vicious attack on the CIO.

### WPA Serves the People

THAT THE WPA Education Projects are carrying on work for which there is a vital need and which is an integral part of a program of expanding educational opportunities is shown by figures released in February by the WPA. More than 190,000 individuals were enrolled in literary classes last October; 159,430 were taking classes in vocational work; enrolled in general education courses were 271,308; in workers' education courses there were 26,726 persons. A total of over a million Americans are taking WPA courses, and tens of thousands of teachers who otherwise might be unemployed are active in their profession.

### Notes from Washington

SENATOR BURKE's resolution for a Senate investigation of the National Labor Relations Board backfired on him in February; after preliminary testimony by Board members, action was postponed indefinitely by the subcommittee of the Senate Judiciary Committee. In the meantime, the LaFollette Committee is preparing to begin its inquiry into the activities of the National Manufacturers' Association in behalf of anti-union organizations, citizens' committees, vigilante groups, etc.



### Military Research and Conclusions

A FEBRUARY dispatch from Washington tells us that our army's leading strategists have decided against the bombing of civilians and non-military targets by airplanes on the basis of their study of the effects of such bombings in China and Spain. As a military tactic, it doesn't pay, they say, and hasten to assure us that

humanitarian motives have nothing to do with this decision. How comforting to know that the military heart has not taken the place of the military head!

### Classroom Teachers Active in Oklahoma

In the February convention of the Oklahoma Education Association, at which there was a record attendance of 13,000, the demand of the classroom teachers for greater participation in the school system and for greater democracy in the Association itself came out as the foremost problems of the convention. An acute interest in the economic status of the teacher was shown by the resolutions of the classroom group—for payment of salaries on a 12-month basis to give a true picture to the public of teachers' salaries; for a demand to the state legislature that a provision be made by law that 80 per cent of state school funds be used for teachers' salaries.



### American Outposts of Fascist Propaganda

THE FOREIGN language departments of our schools and universities are tempting bait for the fascist propaganda networks in their search for footholds in American education. A book of readings and even a grammar can easily be colored by a teacher with the "proper" views. Is an essential to the successful teaching of Italian to be found in the words and music of *Giovinezza*, published in Russa's First Year Italian Grammar (D. C. Heath & Co., 1937)? And what about the vacations arranged for German teachers in Germany with expenses paid? And the subtle attempts to influence German departments against the hiring of men who have been exiled from Germany? Rather our German departments should be encouraged to give employment to the many exiled teachers who had the courage to cling to democratic ideals and as teachers to renounce the kind of education which prefers to burn books rather than to have them read.

### CORRECTION

In the article *Bright, Normal or Dull* which appeared on page 13 of the last issue of *THE AMERICAN TEACHER*, the chart indicating the proposed path of the three groups was printed in the wrong part of the article. It was thereby made to seem that the chart represented the plan of the Professional Problems Committee of Local 192, but the chart is actually a facsimile of the one appearing in the report submitted to the Board of Education by its survey committee.

On page 11 of the supplement which appeared with the last issue, the International Typographical Union is mistakenly listed as being affiliated with the CIO. It is affiliated with the AFL. The president of the International Typographical Union, Mr. Charles P. Howard, is an officer of the CIO.



# On Tackling a Basic Problem

● AN URGENT CALL FOR  
IMMEDIATE LOCAL ACTION

To the Secretaries of all Locals:

This is one of the most important communications that you will receive this year. All over the country a strong attack is developing on the American system of free public education. This attack is not based, as was the similar onslaught in 1931, purely on the specious cry of economy. It is rather based on the conviction that a democratic system of education is developing a democratic people, able to think, to vote, to act in its own interests. Such an educated, alert populace might be disastrous to certain vested interests in the nation. There is a strong movement therefore on foot to limit, narrow, and re-direct American education. The attack is taking and will take different forms at different levels of the educational system. In the elementary schools, there is the cry for fewer frills—to reduce education to the three R's. In the high schools, under the specious cry that education does not fit people for a job, there is a movement to replace general education with a narrow kind of vocational training. The American Federation of Teachers is of course strongly in favor of a real vocational education but feels that it should not be substituted for but should be in addition to that kind of education which helps the student to understand himself and his world. In the universities an attempt is made to revive an outworn intellectualistic approach, to toy again

with outworn metaphysical concepts and to insist that the proper place of the professor is in the ivory tower.

In face of such a threat the school system is very vulnerable. In too many places it fails to respond to present social needs. It is too often a nexus of outworn subjects, methods and points of view; a gigantic cultural lag.

There can be only one answer in such a crisis. The cure for the ills of democracy is more democracy. The cure for the ills of our educational system is more democracy in education. We must make education more and more responsive to the needs of the people. We must implicate the people and excite their interest in the problems of democratic education.

In accordance with the resolution passed by the 21st Convention of the American Federation of Teachers the Executive Council at its December meeting set up a national educational policy committee.

1. To clarify the principles upon which trade union members of the teaching profession should have a program of education.
2. To prepare specific principles of curriculum building and a general outline for curricular revision with a view to making our schools meet more realistically the needs and problems of a democracy.
3. To lead and to guide locals in a nation-wide campaign to protect and expand democratic education.

Recognizing a gap between education as the people in a developing democracy need it, and education as the people in our country commonly receive it, the delegates to the last AFT convention took a new and important step when they ordered the setting up of a National Educational Policies Committee, and instructed it to

... conduct a study of curricula to determine their fitness for the present needs of the large masses of people, and to formulate a comprehensive program, embracing:

1. teaching of practical democracy;
2. teaching the place that organized labor has held in the political and economic life of America;
3. the development of a people's culture and the studying of and making recommendations for curricular revision and extracurricular activities in conformity with these principles.

The National Educational Policies Committee was selected by the National Executive Council at its meeting in December, 1937.

#### MEMBERS OF THE COMMITTEE

Miss Wanda L. Taeschner, Riverside, Ill., Chairman.  
Mr. Russell Babcock, Winnetka, Ill., Secretary.  
Dr. George Axtelle, Northwestern University.  
Dr. Frank Baker, State Teachers College, Milwaukee.  
Mr. Samuel Barth, Chicago.  
Dr. George S. Counts, Columbia University.  
Dr. Eugene Lawlor, Northwestern University.  
Dr. James Mendenhall, Columbia University.  
Mr. Spencer Miller, Workers Education Bureau of America, New York.  
Prof. Floyd W. Reeves, University of Chicago, Chairman of President's Advisory Committee on Education.  
Mr. Charles H. Thompson, Howard University, Editor, Journal of Negro Education.  
Dr. Alban Winspear, University of Wisconsin.

The first meeting took place in New York on February 22, at which time the committee drafted a letter to be sent to the secretaries of all locals. To the editors of The American Teacher the letter seems of such importance that it is a pleasure to reprint it in full herewith, as requested by the committee. (Accompanying the letter the committee sent to each local a copy of Dr. Studebaker's talk on the crucial issues of American life, posing the question as to the extent to which American education is preparing students to meet them.)

The next meeting of the committee will take place in Chicago on May 28-29-30. AFT teachers will observe with keen interest the work of this committee, and should give full support to the local work necessary, as outlined in the letter. Only by such active support can the second meeting of the committee be fruitful; only so will the next convention be able to take further steps as necessary.

The American Federation of Teachers is tackling here a major and basic problem. To the extent that success is won, we may say that we have helped Education for Democracy.

The National Educational Policy Committee of the American Federation of Teachers therefore sends out a call to all locals urging them to launch in their community a popular campaign to extend and enrich democratic education and to widen educational opportunity. Your committee feels that educational and curricular policy should not be regarded as the private preserve of a few experts; that educational change should be the concern of the whole people. Therefore your committee urges the following procedure:

- a. That each local set up a committee on educational policy.
- b. That under the direction of this committee should be established a speaker's bureau to discuss the problems of democratic education before all civic groups, labor unions, Parent-Teachers Associations, service clubs (Kiwans, Rotary, etc.), American Legion, church organizations, and student groups, etc.
- c. That speakers should in meetings with these groups invite discussion, criticism, suggestions, rather than lay down a program. The ten crucial issues raised by Commissioner Studebaker in the enclosed speech should serve as an excellent basis for discussion.
- d. That radio, press, and all other means of popular education should be utilized.
- e. Wherever possible other educational organizations (State Educational Association, American Association of University Professors, etc.), should be involved in the campaign. In some states an agreement for joint action has already been reached.
- f. Complete and detailed written reports of all such meetings involving all concrete suggestions and criticisms as well as a summary of the discussion should be forwarded immediately to your regional vice-president who will summarize these and send them to the National Educational Policies Committee. The NEPC will use this material as a basis for their report at the National Convention.
- g. All these meetings should culminate in a state-wide conference on education for democracy to which every possible organization should be invited to send delegates. The mechanism for such conferences has already been suggested in the Washington Relay of Jan. 31.
- h. The report of the President's Advisory Committee on Education has been released. The summary of this report should form the basis for discussion for such conferences. Copies of this report will be sent to each local as soon as they can be obtained.
- i. Specifically your committee wishes you to raise in your community the following questions and formulate your own answers: 1. What are the crucial issues in American life? 2. Are the schools meeting these issues? 3. What could the schools do to meet these issues more effectively?

Your committee seriously and strongly feels that the whole future of democratic education in American may very well depend on your immediate, wholehearted and enthusiastic response to this appeal.

If at all possible, this campaign should be the subject of discussion for the whole of your next union meeting. First reports *must* be in to your regional Vice-presidents by May 1.

National Educational Policies Committee,  
WANDA TAESCHNER, *Chairman*  
RUSSELL BABCOCK, *Secretary*

## Welcome to New Locals

- No. 543 Winnebago County, Illinois, Federal Teachers Union.
- No. 544 Winnipeg-Manitoba, Canada, Hebrew-Jewish Teachers Association.
- No. 545 Springfield, Illinois, Men Teachers Federation.
- No. 546 Daytona Beach, Florida, Federation of Teachers.
- No. 547 Erie County, N. Y., Adult Teachers Federation.
- No. 548 Arnold-New Kensington District, Pennsylvania, Federation of Teachers.
- No. 549 Farrell, Pennsylvania, Federation of Teachers.
- No. 550 Lucas County, Ohio, Federal Teachers Local.
- No. 551 Area No. 14, Pennsylvania, Federation of Federal Teachers.
- No. 552 Princeton and Mercer Co., N. J., College Local.
- No. 553 Washington, D. C., Private School Teachers Union.
- No. 554 Alexandria, Virginia, Teachers Association.
- No. 555 Lawrence, Kansas, Local.
- No. 556 Hartford County, Connecticut, Federation of Teachers.
- No. 557 Kenosha County, Wisconsin, Teachers Union.



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Note: In the first issue of this school year, the editorial committee announced the forum and urged wide participation. We have printed every letter sent in—except one for affiliation with the CIO for which there was no room in the previous issue. We take this opportunity to urge our readers once more to send letters to this forum. We should like to see all points of view and every part of the country represented. Letters should not exceed 500 words. Communications running beyond 500 words will be returned to contributors for cutting.

The Editors

## FOR THE AFFIRMATIVE:

If the A. F. of L. vs. CIO issue comes to a vote in our union, I shall vote for affiliation with the CIO.

Perhaps I am influenced in this choice by local conditions in the Northwest Movement. For the past year, teamster czar Dave Beck and his teamster "goon squad" racketeers have waged merciless war on the CIO and all unions that stand for democratic unionism and for unity in the labor movement. When the lumber workers' union voted to go CIO, an A. F. of L. boycott was placed on all CIO lumber mills, and was supplemented by bombings and violence. In Portland this resulted in the closing of large mills, and the whole labor movement was laid open to an attack by the reactionaries.

In Seattle, Beck and the Chamber of Commerce, with the help of Beck's Mayor Dore and the Seattle police, have organized employers into "protective associations". These have forced many small business men out of business. CIO workers have been forced into A. F. of L. unions, regardless of the Wagner Act, by teamster threats of refusal to haul goods for the employers. Five Seattle warehouses were closed down for several months by Beck's professional pickets when the workers refused to abandon their CIO warehousemen's union and join the teamsters. And when the teachers' union and several other unions refused to support Beck's Mayor Dore for reelection, early in 1938, they were threatened with reprisal and assured of the opposition of the teamster-controlled Central Labor Council.

Thus it can be seen that a union that is dedicated to democratic principles as is the American Federation of Teachers has nothing to lose by leaving the A. F. of L. in a city like Seattle. And there are many other cities where a similar situation exists.

Aside from these factors, the important things in the CIO-A. F. of L. situation seem to be:

1. The A. F. of L. has failed to build the labor movement in the period since the World War, because of its outmoded craft unionism and its backward and corrupt leadership.
2. The CIO has, in the two years of its existence, brought 3,000,000 new members in the basic industries into unions.
3. The CIO has shown its willingness to re-join the A. F. of L. if it could do so without abandoning the new industrial unions it has built. The A. F. of L. has sabotaged the move to create a united labor movement of 8,000,000 members.
4. The CIO represents stream-lined, democratic unionism. It represents the labor movement of the future. Teachers had best cast their lot with it.

Selden C. Menevey  
Local 200, Seattle

There are many considerations which should lead AFT into CIO. Only a few can be mentioned here.

First, industrial unionism, as represented by CIO, constitutes the only sound basis upon which a powerful labor movement can be built. The necessarily restrictive craft unions of the A. F. of L., because of their horizontal structure, could never suffice to organize the masses of American workers. Their notable failure in this respect is a matter of record. By contrast, the all-inclusive industrial unions of the CIO, because of their vertical structure, constitute just the type of instrument necessary to forge a broad mass-organization of American workers. The phenomenal growth and remarkable collective bargaining achievements of CIO are convincing evidence in this regard. CIO now represents, and may be expected increasingly to become, "the main body of American labor". Hence, self-interest alone should impel AFT to seek affiliation with CIO. There—now,

# SHALL WE

and progressively in the future—lies a source of much more effective labor backing than AFT has ever received from the A. F. of L.

Second, contrary to the assertions of some contributors to this forum, the union of the two major branches of organized labor can best be furthered by strengthening the CIO. Our affiliation to CIO would contribute toward that end. Many true friends of labor, including AFT, have sought vainly to heal the breach between CIO and A. F. of L. Now, from the persistent splitting tactics of the A. F. of L. Executive Council—illegal suspension of CIO unions, expulsion of their affiliates from state and local federations, the deliberate chartering of "company unions", efforts to break CIO strikes—it has become quite clear that the entrenched leaders of A. F. of L. prefer a divided, and hence weakened, American labor movement, and not a unified, progressive movement which might threaten their autocratic (and personally profitable) control. To hope that they will agree voluntarily to any reasonable basis of rapprochement is now unrealistic. The most effective approach to unity is to further the continued triumph of CIO.

Finally, more than any other single factor, the interest of AFT in building a more democratic America calls for affiliation with CIO. The temporizing, and even reactionary, program of the A. F. of L. bureaucracy—e.g. sabotage of the wages-and-hours bill; red-baiting; political chicanery with the enemies of all labor—is most disheartening to all who view organized labor as America's one democratic means of social reconstruction. In marked contrast is the consistently forthright, progressive program of CIO. At two conventions now, has AFT condemned the reactionary policies of A. F. of L. and lauded the forward-looking policies of CIO. The latter, surely, offer most for the attainment of industrial and political democracy, and hence, of "Democracy in Education". In view of these facts, it ill becomes a teachers' union, committed to very definite social ideals, to give mere lip-service to the program of CIO. Its proper place is within the ranks of America's progressive labor movement.

Doxey A. Wilkerson  
Howard Teachers Union No. 440  
Washington, D. C.

Unity in the labor movement today is essential, if reaction in America is to be defeated. Yet such unity does not exist. Why?

Unity does not exist because there are some A. F. of L. leaders who prevent it. Specifically, at its Atlantic City national convention in October, the CIO called for a conference of 100 to discuss terms of peace and unity. The A. F. of L. leaders meeting in Denver at this same time refused at first, but finally agreed to a meeting of three from each side. Here, the CIO called for peace and unity—a unity of all workers—the A. F. of L. leaders desired peace, without unity. In effect, they would take back into the fold the ten original dissident unions. The other twenty-two or more internationals (comprising over 2,000,000 members) would have to make individual application. This would tend to split rather than unify the labor movement.

It is my conviction that the rank and file membership of all unions must establish the unity that some labor leaders have abandoned. This can be done in several ways.

1. Let all A. F. of L. union members deluge their leaders with letters calling for a real unity in the labor movement.
2. Let A. F. of L. and CIO locals undertake joint action on common issues.
3. Help the CIO become so large and powerful an organization that the next call for unity will become a demand.

This brings me to my last point—the AFT should help make the CIO such a powerful organization—by joining it. By this action

THE AMERICAN TEACHER

# WE AFFILIATE?

we can do our share in creating unity in the labor movement. By this action we can become a part of the progressive trade union force in this country.

JULIUS JACOBS  
Local 5, New York

## FOR THE NEGATIVE:

Both by persistent education, and the force of events, teachers and public are gradually becoming convinced that the affiliation of teachers with the A. F. of L. is advantageous to teachers, pupils and public, and fits into the pattern of American social progress. A steady growth in the A. F. of L. has resulted. This has been and is made possible by the general conviction that the A. F. of L., while making mistakes, is a stabilizing evolutionary force, and not a disruptive would-be revolutionary force in American life; by a long term demonstration that the A. F. of L. in all of its units from local, through city, state and national bodies, takes a constructive and effective interest in the protection and development of the public schools. Added to these as an indispensable requirement for teachers and public approval is the unbroken respect of the A. F. of L. for the complete autonomy of the affiliated teachers, and a clear record of freedom from any attempt to secure the introduction of propaganda into the schools, a record all the more conspicuous in comparison with that of certain special interests.

It seems as strange as it does tragic that some teachers in certain areas, who might not be enthusiastic themselves for one organization of all public school employees, including teachers, janitors, window washers, etc., appear anxious through raising the question of secession from the A. F. of L., to plunge us into the bitter controversy in the labor movement involving personalities, classifications of workers, and types of organization not directly concerned with our major task of organizing the teachers of the nation.

Judged from the standpoint of devotion to the recognized legitimate objectives of the AFT, it seems incredible that we should discard the foundations for growth which have been effectively built up, and built on, and inject the bitterness of secession and of disunion into our national organization. Let us build up a greater surplus of strength before we squander what we have in suicidal internal strife.

CHARLES STILLMAN  
Local 1, Chicago

It was with considerable disappointment that I read the articles in the last issue of THE AMERICAN TEACHER on the question of affiliation with the CIO. A "Forum" should present both sides of a controversy, yet neither of the articles offered arguments for remaining within the A. F. of L. It is possible, of course, that no communications were submitted taking this side of the question, yet, surely, the editors would have had no difficulty in securing such an article had they so desired. It hardly is in keeping with the democratic traditions of our organization to suppress opinions even though they may be those of the minority—and it is yet to be proved that continued affiliation with the A. F. of L. is the wish of only a minority.

Many of the members of the Portland local are convinced that affiliation with the CIO would mean the death of our local—a local which, incidentally, is almost as old as the Federation and which, while it has never had great numerical strength, has a record of achievement of which it is justly proud. These accomplishments would have been impossible except for the generous support given to us by the A. F. of L. labor movement of Oregon. Had it not been for assistance of organized labor, we should probably not now have a tenure law which is admittedly one of the best in the nation;

the right of married women to positions in the Portland schools would not be recognized; salaries would have suffered even more than they have, and there would not now be on the statute books of Oregon a law making \$75 a month the minimum salary for teachers throughout the state.

If for no other reason, our sense of gratitude to the Oregon labor movement will prevent many of us from voting to leave an organization to which we owe so much.

As for affiliating with no labor group, as was suggested by Mr. Granbery, that would seem the height of folly—that is, if we believe that teachers should affiliate with other workers. And why another independent, self-sufficient organization when there is the NEA and all its local associations?

DARYL BELAT  
Local 111, Portland

We as union teachers, it seems to me, have two main purposes and obligations: 1. to maintain and extend the American Federation of Teachers, and 2. to help restore unity in the labor movement. These objectives should be kept foremost in mind when we consider the momentous subject of a change in our affiliation.

Our first obligation, of course, is to the American Federation of Teachers. Some members would have us go over to the CIO with the expectation of thereby enrolling larger numbers of teachers throughout the nation in the A. F. of T. They would do this regardless of the fact that such action would likely disrupt the teachers' unions of many states and communities, and jeopardize their affiliations with state federations and city central unions. Such would be the case in Wisconsin, Illinois, and in other states of the Union. These union teachers apparently would be willing to sacrifice a large part of the present membership and the prospect of a steady but not spectacular growth to gamble on a mythical membership that they predict will materialize immediately upon affiliation with the CIO. In short, in the hope of organizing the unorganized among the teachers they would run the risk of disorganizing the organized.

That by joining the CIO it would be possible to unionize any great number of the teachers of America seems very problematical, despite the glowing pictures of sure-fire success painted by some of the enthusiastic delegates last summer at the Madison convention. We have no guarantee that the American Federation of Teachers would grow by leaps and bounds as a CIO affiliate. In fact, the whole CIO organizing campaign has recently slowed down to a walk, and some of the unions are having difficulty in holding their own in membership. The A. F. of L. in Wisconsin has increased its membership far more rapidly than the CIO, its gains alone last year being more than the entire membership of the CIO.

If unity in the American labor movement is to be restored, it is almost self-evident that it must be done through the merging of the two hostile groups into a new federation or through the suspended unions being reinstated in the A. F. of L., since it is almost unbelievable that the youthful CIO will eventually absorb the Federation of fifty years' standing. In that case, we of the teachers' unions can best serve the cause of labor unity among craft, industrial, and professional workers by remaining within the A. F. of L. and joining with all other liberal forces within the Federation in working out methods of getting the suspended unions back into their proper relationship with the least possible delay and the least possible hard feeling. At least we should delay action on withdrawal until all hope of reconciliation is lost.

At the present time, the CIO-A. F. of L. contest is beginning to assume more and more the aspects of a personal feud between John L. Lewis and William Green. There are also rumblings of dissatisfaction within the CIO over its leadership and procedures that may prove to be as serious as the past difficulties within the A. F. of L. While these disquieting and disrupting situations exist it would hardly be the part of wisdom for teachers to try to escape the Scylla of an undemocratic executive committee of the A. F. of L. only to become the victims of the Charybdis of a dictatorial leadership of the CIO. We can best serve the cause of democracy in labor and democracy in education by refraining from immediate and hasty action in changing our affiliation.

JAMES L. FITZPATRICK  
Local 252, Milwaukee



# The Teachers Union in Action

## NEWS from LOCALS

### Atlanta Teachers Want School Buildings But Not Reduced Salaries

The report of the survey of the governments of Atlanta and Fulton County, Ga., made by Dr. Thomas H. Reed, Consultant of the National Municipal League, has received close attention of the Atlanta Public School Teachers Association, Local 89, AFT. In regard to a proposed school building program, the report states: "Either the Atlanta high school children must continue their education in portables, or the charter tax limit must be raised, or the teachers' salaries must come down." According to the *Atlanta Teacher*, official organ of Local 89, the teachers support the building program, but feel that they are not the ones who should be expected to pay for the new schools.

### Labor Supports New Orleans Teachers in Defense of Tenure Law

Following an address by delegate Myrtle H. Rey, president of the New Orleans, La., Class Room Teachers Federation, Local 353, the New Orleans Central Trades and Labor Council reaffirmed its previous endorsement of the teacher tenure law and voted to ask similar action of the Louisiana State Federation of Labor at its next Convention. This defense action has been necessitated by attacks on the law at the parish school board convention.

### Chattanooga Local Sues for Salaries

In 1934 Local 246, Chattanooga, Tenn., succeeded in having the state legislature enact a salary scale for an increase in wages. With the failure of the city of Chattanooga to meet this scale, the union entered suit.

In what appeared to be an attempt to split the union by winning support of the older and more influential teachers to his side, the mayor offered salary increases based on length of service in the schools regardless of educational qualifications. Subsequently he circulated a petition and claimed to have a majority of the teachers in favor of dropping suit. A claim which he has failed to substantiate. Meantime the suit remains in the courts. Stanton Smith, president of the local, has repeated the stand that while the membership is willing to accept a reasonable settlement, one of the requirements being a schedule based on training

as well as length of service, it does not like to be bludgeoned into submission. Recently, at a conference held by the mayor, a union committee, and representatives of the Central Labor Union, the mayor signified his willingness to accept a schedule which includes both training and length of service providing the city can meet the cost.

### Bremerton Local Organizes in Nearby Towns

With a membership amounting to 75 per cent of the eligible teaching force, Local 336, Bremerton, Wash., is engaged in helping to organize new groups in nearby towns. The organization committee has made promising contacts in Port Angeles, Port Orchard, and Silverdale. The Central Trades Council of Bremerton cooperates with the union. At the last school board election, a labor candidate was elected.

### St. Paul Teachers Sue for Full Restoration

The St. Paul Federation of Women Teachers and the St. Paul Federation of Men Teachers, Locals 28 and 43, have taken the lead in a campaign to secure full salary restoration for the teachers of St. Paul, Minn. The locals have succeeded in getting seven per cent of a ten per cent cut for the year 1938 and are now suing the city for the ten per cent withheld in 1937 and for a day or two of salary withheld in previous years. There is a balance of \$49,000 in the city treasury which was earmarked for teachers' salaries, but which has not been paid out. The teachers have won an injunction preventing the city from using this money for any other purpose.

### Spokesman of Chicago Local Urges Political Action

In a recent radio address, Kermit Eby, executive secretary of the Teachers Union, Local 1, Chicago, declared that the organization is ready to accept the responsibility associated with its size and power, and campaign to bring educational and political reform to the city: "It seems to the Union that the answer is obvious. Let every teacher unite with parents and civic groups throughout the city for political action. The time has come for Chicago to clean its Augean stables. Reform is in the air. Education, housing, and the merit system are the issues. . . . The Chicago Teachers Union accepts its task.

Together with the public we can restore the morale of the teachers, discredit the politicians who have usurped the educators' position, and preserve the democracy we cherish." Mr. Eby also urged the revision of the antiquated tax structure established by the Illinois constitution which makes no provision for a graduated income tax.

#### **Local 5 Holds Joint Conference with PEA**

The final session of the week-long National Conference of the Progressive Education Association was held jointly with Local 5, on Saturday evening, Feb. 26, in New York City. The subject of the session was: "Overcoming Obstacles to Progressive Education." Jerome Davis was the principal speaker.

#### **Trenton Teachers Score "Hagueism"**

In a resolution recently issued to the New Jersey State Federation of Labor, the Mercer County Central Labor Union, and the press, the Mercer County Teachers Union, Local 437, has called upon Louis Marcianite, president of the New Jersey State Federation of Labor, to repudiate the activity of Mayor Frank Hague of Jersey City. Mr. Marcianite recently appeared upon the same platform with Mayor Hague and issued a statement supporting Mayor Hague's campaign against the CIO. The Teachers Union brands "Hagueism" as un-American and anti-labor and charges that Mayor Hague is opposed to the basic rights of workers to organize.

#### **Lowell Local Wins Partial Restoration**

Determined action on the part of Local 495, Lowell, Mass., has succeeded in winning restoration of all but two days' pay lost in December when the school department funds became exhausted. Threatened with a cut of ten days at Christmas time, many teachers of Lowell appealed to the union local and joined its ranks. Action of the Lowell Central Labor Union, the Massachusetts State Federation of Labor, and the Massachusetts State Council of Teachers Unions in support of Local 495 stimulated the city administration to find money for four of the ten days. Continued negotiations have now resulted in the inclusion in the 1938 school budget of all unexpended 1937 balances of other departments. This creates a fund sufficient to restore four of the six days cut. The tireless services of the president and other officers of the Lowell Central Labor Union have been a major factor in this victory.

#### **Largest College Teachers Union Formed in New York**

More than 850 college teachers in the New York area have united to form the New York College Teachers Union, Local 537, largest college teachers union in the United States. Professor Edwin B. Burgum of New York University is the first president. The new local is carrying on an intensive drive for reform in the New

York municipal college system. The Labor Relations Committee of New York University has already agreed that it will recognize the union as the bargaining agent of the non-instructional staff as soon as it can demonstrate that it represents "a substantial proportion in any school."

#### **100 Per Cent Membership in Floodwood Local**

Local 506, the Floodwood, Minn., Federation of Teachers, reports 100% organization. Through negotiations with the school board and the administration several adjustments satisfactory to the teachers have already been made. The union hopes to achieve a salary schedule based on training and experience rather than on grades taught, a just provision for sick leave, and a lightening of teaching and extra-curricular load. Mr. L. E. Lewis, superintendent of schools in Floodwood and president of the State Board of Education, recently told the Minnesota State School Board Association: "Underpaid community and rural teachers are going to take the low salary situation into their own hands. Having grown impatient waiting for what they feel is their just compensation, they will make a fight of it through unions which are gradually gaining in strength throughout the state."

#### **Minneapolis Locals Hold Out for Full Restoration**

As against the action of other teachers organizations, the Teachers Federation, Locals 59 and 238, Minneapolis, Minn., have requested full salary restoration. In a referendum which was issued by the Central Council of Teachers, and which carried a note of warning against voting to request full restoration, the teachers of Minneapolis voted to request a six per cent cut, an action which *Federation News*, organ of Locals 59 and 238, describes as "carrying coals to Newcastle". Before the result of this referendum was made public, school board member Roy Weir from the Central Labor Union, on behalf of the Building Employees Union and Teachers Federations, requested full scheduled salaries for all school board employees.

#### **Paterson Teachers Seek Increments**

Citing the fact that Paterson policemen have received two salary increments since October and that teachers in other New Jersey cities are receiving increments, the Paterson Teachers Union, Local 482, is demanding full salary schedule through payment of increments. Though he recommended that such restoration be made, Commissioner James E. Torrey, president of the Board of Education, warned the union's spokesman against teachers holding "membership in any organization controlled by outside influences . . . regardless of what may be going on in Moscow, Tokyo, or any other remote point." This attack on the Teachers Union has been protested by outstanding labor leaders of New Jersey.



#### **Missoula Teacher Elected President of Central Trades**

Mr. E. A. Atkinson, secretary of Local 497, Missoula, Mont., has recently been elected president of the Central Trades and Labor Council. Mr. Michael Mansfield, another member of the local and of the faculty of the University of Montana, has been named chairman of the Committee on Legislation of the Central Council. Restoration of salaries and a retirement plan for university instructors are the immediate legislative aims of the local.

#### **Partial Restoration in Oshkosh**

Local 379, the Oshkosh, Wis., Federation of Teachers, reports that the Oshkosh City Council has appropriated \$40,000 for partial salary restoration. This amount will give each teacher an increase of two-fifths of the difference between what the teacher has been receiving and what he should receive under the schedule. Some grade teachers have been receiving salaries as much as 40% to 50% below schedule. In working for restoration, the local contacted each member of the City Council directly or by letter and it is felt that this method contributed to the success. The Oshkosh Trades and Labor Council and all the affiliated locals have given invaluable support.

#### **Sabbatical Leave Proposal in Madison**

On the recommendation of the Teachers Union, Local 223, Madison, Wis., a faculty meeting of the University of Wisconsin created a special committee to consider the advisability of establishing a system of sabbatical leave for faculty members. The committee was urged to study the Pennsylvania sabbatical leave act, which provides for leaves for study and research, teachers on leave receiving the difference between their salaries and those of the substitutes who temporarily fill their positions.

#### **Joint Campaign Proposed to Wisconsin Teachers Association**

The Executive Committee of the Wisconsin Federation of Teachers, State Branch of the AFT, has proposed to the Wisconsin Teachers Association a joint campaign to rally support of the people of the state behind the schools. *The Madison Teacher*, organ of Locals 223 and 35, reports that a meeting of the two committees to discuss the Federation's proposals will probably be arranged in the near future.

#### **Cleveland Local Fights Compulsory Retirement Proposal**

Countering a campaign to pension teachers at sixty-five years of age instead of seventy, the Cleveland, O., Federation of Teachers, Local 279, recently informed the Cleveland Board of Education: "The retirement allowance of teachers of 65 is not nearly sufficient to assure even minimum living standards. With only one year of nearly normal salaries, these older teachers have not had time

to recover from the losses of the depression; yet another depression now engulfs the country. . . ." The saving to the city would amount to only 22 cents per capita annually, a saving which the union feels "is not commensurate with the loss in the educational repute of Cleveland." The union brands the proposal as "a major surgical operation to cure a temporary ailment."

#### **Joint Action in Washington**

The state board of the Washington Federation of Teachers, branch of the AFT, recently met with the tenure committee of the Washington Education Association to work out a joint approach to the problem of tenure. There are some differences between the organizations as to whether a tenure law should include teachers in third class country school districts. The AFT groups favor such inclusion. If the cooperation of the two groups is successful, the AFT will bring to the support of a tenure bill the forces of organized labor, and the Association will bring strong educational support especially among school officials.

#### **Detroit Teachers Circulate Petition for School Improvement**

A four-point petition is being circulated by the Detroit, Mich., Federation of Teachers, for signature by all citizens. The petition calls for employment of 363 additional teachers to reduce the present excessive class size, restoration of ten days' sick leave per year for teachers, raising the city's contribution to teachers' retirement fund, and relief for over-crowding in the high schools, where 42,000 students are herded together in schools built to house 31,000.

#### **Elyria Local Wins Sick Leave Program**

The Elyria, O., Board of Education recently adopted a sick leave program which was proposed by the Elyria Federation of Teachers, Local 334, after nearly a year of study. The bill provides for ten days' sick leave with pay in any one year, the benefits to be cumulative to a maximum of 30 days in three school years. Teachers may take three days of sick leave with pay without the requirement of a doctor's certificate. There is also provision for three days of absence due to death in the immediate family.

#### **Parkersburg Schools Confronted by Eight Month Term**

According to an article in the news bulletin of Local 382, Parkersburg, W. Va., next year may see the school term of Parkersburg reduced to eight months. The county will lose \$15,344 due to elimination of important utility and corporation properties from the tax rolls. Other causes are the need for purchasing new school buses and creating new buildings to eliminate over-crowding.

# Labor Notes

## Welcome

It is indeed a pleasure to welcome to the ranks of organized labor a new professional group, the American Guild of Musical Artists, an AFL affiliate. It is particularly encouraging to contemplate the new union as an indication that professionals and white collar workers continue steadily, if slowly, to move toward the realization that their true place is with organized labor. President of the A.G.M.A. is baritone Lawrence Tibbett, and the membership roll includes Kirsten Flagstad, Friedrich Schorr, John Brownlee, Natalya Bodanya and other top-flight names among the opera singers. Their demands are for "a Guild shop", and for modification of the opera company's control of their radio, cinema, and concert stage work.

## Fugitives

A decision important to labor was recently handed down by the Pennsylvania Supreme Court. The decision states that a company holding a contract with a labor union may not abrogate its contract by removing from a particular locality. The case involved a clothing manufacturing concern which had moved its factory from Philadelphia to Johnstown. While its own contract with its employees had expired several days prior to the removal, the court held that the company was still bound by a blanket contract between the union and the manufacturers' association of which the company was a member. The only alternative permitted the firm was the privilege of closing down completely. The last concession was a reversal in part of an even more liberal decision by a lower court which ordered the manufacturers to return to Philadelphia and resume business. This decision, which may be expected to serve as a precedent in at least one state, is particularly important at the present time because of the extensive movement of industrial plants to cheaper labor markets. A conjunction of such favorable court decisions with a greater degree of uniformity in wages and hours realizable as a result of Congressional legislation and universal organization would effectively solve the problem of the runaway industry.

## The Attack on the Seamen

An earlier issue of THE AMERICAN TEACHER carried a Labor Note on the Copeland Safety at Sea Law enacted last year, which contained several vicious provisions aimed at the maritime

unions. Since that time, the baiting has gone systematically and merrily on in an effort to crush the seamen's organizations. A series of outrageous charges dovetails neatly into a pattern of conspiracy at the heart of which once again is Senator Copeland, long and well known as the errand boy of the shipping interests. The conspiracy reached its climax in the treatment of the Algic strike. The starting point of the strike was the refusal of members of the crew to work with scab longshoremen in a South American seaport where a strike was in progress. When the Algic returned to the United States, the striking seamen were arrested and later found guilty on charges of mutiny. There followed the investigation by the Maritime Commission under Chairman Joseph Kennedy. The Commission brought in findings of poor working conditions, low salaries, and long hours. The conclusions and recommendations, however, bore no logical relationship to these findings. Mr. Kennedy's statements issued for publication were clearly biased against the seamen. He charged them with lack of discipline and presented a plan for government training of young men for seamen, which boils down to an out-and-out plan to turn the government into a scabbing agency. Senator Copeland and the Senate Commerce Committee proceeded to carry the plot further with secret hearings. The chief feature was the "testimony" of a mysterious "Captain X" who refused to permit his name to be revealed. Not only were his blood-curdling accusations against the marine workers unsubstantiated, but charges of misconduct on the part of the crew members on the foundered S.S. President Hoover were indignantly refuted by passengers. Senator Copeland and other reactionary forces immediately raised a vociferous clamor for repressive legislation, and are pressing specifically for a compulsory arbitration law for seamen. In a forthright letter to Senator Copeland, John Brophy, director of the CIO, forcefully exposed the committee's bias, the dishonesty

of the hearings, and the motives behind the entire business. "The basic issues confronting American seamen and the merchant marine," he declared, "are wages and hours—nothing more—nothing less." He went on to say: "Instead of conducting an open investigation into working conditions on board ships . . . the committee appears to be using these hearings as a forum for attacks against the maritime workers and their organizations."





# Among the New Books

## Two Reports on Contemporary China

RED STAR OVER CHINA, by EDGAR SNOW, *Random House*, N. Y., 1938.

WHEN CHINA UNITES, by HARRY GANNES, *Alfred A. Knopf*, N. Y., 1937.

Here are two books of the sort we have been looking for. Both are excellent backgrounds for an understanding of the Chinese Revolution and the Sino-Japanese War.

By far the more exciting is Snow's first-hand account of the Chinese Soviets. It has the exotic quality of "Messr. Marco Polo" and yet it also makes history in that Snow (of the *London Daily Herald*) was the first Occidental reporter to pierce the battle lines which have surrounded the Soviet regions for the past ten years, and to return with the story. He arrived just in time to see the Soviets of Shensi province before their name was changed to "Special Area Government," and to witness the growing united front cultivated by the Reds with the Central Government.

Gannes' book supplies the historical material necessary for understanding modern China. The story of Chinese resistance to imperialism goes back to the Opium Wars of 1840-42. Britain went to war to force the unwilling Manchu government to accept opium from India as a medium of exchange. First they doped China, then they shot her into submission.

Dr. Sun Yat-sen was the first great national leader to emerge, after the revolution of 1911. His three principles of Nationality, Democracy and Economic Livelihood are still an inspiration to Chinese patriots. The Civil War of 1925-27 was a hopeful period of the revolution, but once Dr. Sun's protege Chiang Kai-shek got into power he turned upon the Communists who helped him, and for ten years thereafter waged a constant but futile war against them. Meanwhile, time after time he submitted to Japan's demands while Manchuria, Jehol, Chahar, Hopei were cut away from China without resistance. Under the leadership of the Reds, the people of the Northwest began to chafe at Chiang's policy of endless civil war and disunity.

Snow in fascinating style tells the romantic story of Mao Tse-tung, son of a peasant and chairman of the Soviets. First a librarian and then an army officer, Mao took to the hills and began organizing the peasants when Chiang abandoned the revolution in 1927. Together with military commander Chu Teh, formerly a wealthy general with eight wives and the opium habit who had quit his dissolute way of life to help make the revolution, Mao forged large Soviet areas out of rural Hunan and Kiangsi. There the Soviets abolished opium smoking, prostitution, compulsory marriage and child slavery, educated the nine-tenths who were illiterate, divided the landlords' land among the peasants and held out against the superior forces of the Central Government for seven years. Their superior maneuvering and propaganda turned the nationalists' forces into "munitions carriers" for the Soviets. Finally, however, the great offensive of 1934 threatened to crush the Reds.

Then the unforgettable tale of the "long march" of 6,000 miles, largely across unmapped territory, by which virtually a whole Red nation migrated in a round-about way through Tibet to Shensi province in the Northwest. There they were in a position to oppose Japan's encroachments, and they quickly won the support of Marshall Chang and Hsueh-liang's homeless Manchurian army for their united front policies.

The kidnapping of Generalissimo Chiang was the final act in the romantic tale. This was the only way the rebellious northerners under General Chang and Yang could reach him with their plea for peace at home and resistance to Japan. The Soviet leaders insisted on their keeping Chiang's life safe, knowing that his death would mean chaos to the nation, and he listened to the Reds for the first time in ten years. The Soviets abandoned their name and their

land redistribution policies in return for peace and national unity and the promise of democracy. The stage was set for the war which both Snow and Gannes accurately predicted before its start.

Gannes, a Marxian in philosophy, predicts the eventual defeat of Japan by guerilla tactics to be introduced to the Nationalist Army by the Reds, and by Japan's internal weaknesses. Snow, who picked up a Marxian way of thinking in his Soviet journey, predicts that once the population is armed in the war against Japan, Chiang Kai-shek will never be able to go back to fascistic policies and persecution of the Reds. Rather, the growth of democracy after the war will lay the basis for socialism in the future.

Read Gannes for Chinese history. But for sheer exciting drama and current information, don't miss Snow.

SELDEN C. MENEFF

## A Historical Novel about the Great Hunger

FAMINE, by LIAM O'FLAHERTY. *Random House*, New York. 466 pp. \$2.50.

There has been a distinct change in Irish literature in the past few years. When the older writers were more prolific, it seemed that the poetry, drama, and novels which emerged were rather formalistic and suggestive of the confines of a certain genre. Synge, Lady Gregory, Yeats, Æ, and Joyce were the bright stars in this firmament. This late change in Irish literature is a phenomenon we have been expecting, for the younger writers who have come to the fore see and understand a different Ireland, a colonial nation of struggle and revolutionary traditions. Their work is of an even value but it is significant that all of these writers feel the necessity to write of Ireland's great historical and political events and figures. Miss Haslip's *Parnell*, Ernie O'Malley's *I.R.A.*, Frank O'Connor's *Pearse*, Brian O'Neill's *O'Connell*, Montagu Slater's *Connolly*, Shaw Desmond's *Sinn Féin* all present the graphic detail of Irish revolutionary struggle. And now with O'Flaherty's *Famine* we have the best of them all, a historical novel on the grand scale depicting the Great Famine of 1845.

In the hands of O'Flaherty, the author of *The Informer*, the historical novel achieves stature as a high example of literature and historical composition. The minutest details are employed to describe the "great hunger" and its effect on the lives of the peasants of Crom, Black Valley and Glenares. Nothing is redecorated and nothing is overdone. The author seldom intrudes his own personality. He merely brings out the fullest content of the drama of their lives when they are brought face to face with dread famine, hunger and the rank exploitation by British imperialism. Here is a masterpiece of historical novel writing showing the struggle of the "people against the tyrant", the taking up of cudgels "against the great hunger".

This is the story of the Kilmartins and their neighbors, of the valley priests, the agents, the merchants, and the coming of the potato blight. It is a story of famine, decay and death, gouging exploitation, insanity, and hatred. O'Flaherty omits very little from his canvas. Here is the unforgettable picture of nineteenth century Irish peasant life, with its gombeen men, wakes, dung hills, thatched roofs, Young Irelanders and Fenians. The priests and Protestant clergy are arrayed against each other; and the curate, Tom Geelan—very much like Don Benedetto in Silone's *Bread and Wine*—emerges as a revolutionary priest. The fight against absentee landlordism becomes heightened into the struggle of all the peasants and their revolt against hunger. And when the story ends, the hero and heroine, Martin and Mary Kilmartin, with their infant son are escaping to America.

Everything is important to this novel. The characterization is outstanding. The beauty of the Irish dialect, the simple religious

faith, the terrible ominousness of the plague, the expressiveness of the folk, are all integrated into the scene. The hunger changes the people and their ideas. They reject the "peace at any price" policy of Father Roch and the capitulating politicians. The change in the people is typified in Tom Geelan's observation that "there is nothing holier than to fight in defense of liberty, to die for it, for the freedom of the earth that bore you and the happiness and prosperity of those you love." We believe this priest when he says, "The people are always right in the mass. In the long run they are right." The final note is one of hopefulness, despite the atmosphere of decay and tumescence and the dying away of the village Crom, and that is because the strength of the people is in their "rightness" and in their indestructible energy. That hopefulness is also a promise of Irish liberation and a reflection of our hope that O'Flaherty will continue the story of the Kilmartins and the fight for liberty.

EUGENE HOLMES

### Great Wealth Against the People

AMERICA'S SIXTY FAMILIES by FERDINAND LUNDBERG. *Vanguard Press*, 1937, New York. 544 pp. \$3.75.

Lundberg has written an important work which has already made a profound impression on America. In such a voluminous factual record many minor mistakes can no doubt be found but this does not invalidate his fundamental analysis regarding the heavy concentration of wealth and its unfortunate consequences for the American people.

Teachers particularly need the message of this book. For the most part we are sheltered within scholastic walls, immersed in a world of ideas. How often do teachers really dig down underneath the vexatious questions of salary cuts, shortened school terms and lack of security to the big underlying forces and factors which undermine our civilization and produce these unfortunate consequences?

This volume will help us as teachers to comprehend some of the fundamentals of the world we live in and why our salaries are so often reduced and educational budgets impaired every time a depression rolls around.

Mr. Lundberg cites "chapter and verse" to show that the bulk of private wealth is concentrated into approximately sixty family groups in America. These are, in effect, our ruling oligarchy. In general they inter-marry and their wealth is handed on from generation to generation.

It is true Lundberg does not differentiate sharply between different forms of wealth nor does he indicate that this plutocracy is an inherent factor in modern capitalism. Lundberg is sometimes led into making assumptions that almost every important political action is taken because the economic power of these "sixty families" dictates that it shall be done. The process is neither so simple nor direct as this implies. In reality American politicians themselves grow up in an atmosphere where wealth is often assumed to be a badge of honor. The capitalistic system is considered the only "patriotic" system. Hence the undertones and overtones of our society are charged with individualism, materialism, and a profit philosophy. Growing up in such a cultural environment it is not strange that politicians should act on behalf of capitalists. Fortunately, with the depression came an awakening awareness of injustice and exploitation and as the workers and farmers organize effectively, the politician may actually become the servant of the people in his votes as well as in his oratory.

Lundberg shows conclusively the unethical, anti-social effects of great wealth on our cultural life. We should realize that the only way we can meet this era of "corpocracy" and plutocracy is through organization. As teachers we should take to heart the great message of this book.

JEROME DAVIS

### The Growth of Fascism

GERMANY SINCE 1918. By FREDERICK L. SCHUMAN. New York. *Henry Holt & Co.* 1937.

Because trade unions were destroyed in every fascist state the study and understanding of the theory, development, and day to day manifestations of Fascism are the bounden duty of trade unionists. A judgment of the subject presupposes a knowledge of the environment in which the system sprouted and how it grew. Such growth

is described in a clear, succinct, straightforward manner by Professor Schuman in 140 pages. The book speaks highly for our profession and for Williams College whence it comes. For those of us who run but do not read, these views may serve as a characterization: Fascism is a product of economic-social disintegration. As a political conspiracy and a state form it is the product of monopolistic capitalism and feudalism. The results of Hitler's techniques of super-salesmanship, ultra-patriotism, and mass pageantry were to be "the destruction of the Weimar Republic and the erection of a Totalitarian State, dominated by Junkers and industrialists but ruled nominally by the new Savior and his coterie of Party followers." For a sane summary and a guarded prophecy turn to the final chapter.

LYMAN R. BRADLEY



### Recent Plays in Book Form

GOLDEN BOY, by CLIFFORD ODETS. *Random House*, 228 pp. \$2.00.

"Golden Boy", Odets' most successful play, and one of the brightest on Broadway this season, reads as excitingly as it plays. Here again Odets is concerned with the struggle of the average decent boy to find a place for himself in a none too hospitable society, against whose values his inner nature revolts. When Joe Bonaparte gives up his violin to become a victorious prizefighter, he accepts the crude standards of a world not his own because he cannot stand the thought of doing without possessions. To a boy ashamed to be poor, society offers a very narrow choice and the way offered Joe leads to his destruction. He is caught in a ruthless, exploiting net of business men and racketeers. He loses the music that alone was solace to his spirit, for, as his father says, a man must be free and happy for music. Joe got his speedy car, his press notices, his custom made suits. But the tragedy of his fight was that inwardly he knew it was for the wrong things. He never won what his brother Frank could claim as the reward of his own fight as a union organizer: "The pleasure of acting as you think! The satisfaction of staying where you belong, being what you are . . . at harmony with millions of others!"

Joe is one of Odets' most fully developed personalities, as "Golden Boy" is one of his best constructed plays. The dramatic conflicts in this single group of characters become an effective analysis of an inequitable social system, without the addition of the gratuitous speechmaking that tended to mar the earlier plays. The theme and the characters are fully and naturally interwoven and develop together. The dialogue carries the usual Odets power and humor, and except for an unfortunate relapse now and then into an unworthy gag, has that rich poetic symbolism that crystallizes the meaning of his characters and makes his plays good literature.

THE CRADLE WILL ROCK, by MARC BLITZSTEIN. *Random House*, 150 pp. \$1.50.

When the timid Federal Theatre disappointed a waiting audience by cancelling a preview of "The Cradle Will Rock" it started something. For audience, cast and composer marched in a body to another theatre and learned that the lack of settings, costumes, stage business and an orchestra did not prevent this "play in music" from being an important event of the season. And now that Random House have put it into one of their attractive volumes it becomes an event for a wider audience. For this unclassifiable theatre piece does not need the usual background of a play to tell the story of the unionization of Steeltown, U. S. A. The rapid pace of its dialogue in doggerel, in free verse, in lyric, and the versatility of Mr. Blitzstein's tune making have an infectiousness that help to carry an audience or a reader into the camp of the union organizer. *The Cradle Will Rock* is an original kind of operetta—humorous, poignant, bitingly satirical and militant. It is labor, at ease with art, striking a powerful blow at "Mr. Mister" who used to own everything in sight in Steeltown, including labor and art.

BORIS GAMZUE



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